

THE  
CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—INSPIRATION AND HISTORY.

1. *Sanctissimi Domini nostri Leonis Divina Providentia Papæ XIII. Litteræ Encyclicæ ad Patriarchas, Primates, Archiepiscopos, Episcopos universos Catholici orbis gratiam et communionem cum Apostolica Sede habentes. De Studiis Scripturæ Sacræ.* (Romæ, 1893.)
2. *On the Inspiration of Scripture.* By his Eminence CARDINAL NEWMAN. (*Nineteenth Century*, February 1884.)
3. *The Policy of the Pope.* (*Contemporary Review*, October 1892.)
4. *La Politica di Leone XIII. e la Contemporary Review.* Esame Critico di S. M. BRANDI, S.J. (Roma, 1893.)
5. *The Pope and the Bible.* By the author of *The Policy of the Pope.* (*Contemporary Review*, April 1893.)
6. *The Policy of Leo XIII.: a Rejoinder from Rome.* By FATHER BRANDI, S.J. (*Contemporary Review*, May 1893.)
7. *The Pope and Father Brandi: a Reply.* By the author of *The Policy of the Pope.* (*Contemporary Review*, June 1893.)
8. *The Papal Encyclical on the Bible.* By the author of *The Policy of the Pope.* (*Contemporary Review*, April 1894.)
9. *The Papal Encyclical on the Bible: a Reply.* By the Rev. FATHER CLARKE. (*Contemporary Review*, July 1894.)
10. *The Encyclical Letter recently issued by Pope Leo XIII. on the Study of Holy Scripture.* CHARLES GORE. (*Guardian*, April 11, 1894.)
11. *Old Testament Criticism.* (*Quarterly Review*, April 1894.)
12. *The 'Higher Criticism' and the Verdict of the Monuments.* By the Rev. A. H. SAYCE, Queen's College, Oxford. (London, 1894.)

THERE are no signs that the end of the battle which is raging about the Bible is near. In our own branch of the Church

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the controversy is still dividing friends, and is causing a pressure hardly less injurious than painful. In that part of the Church which most highly values external unity the same differences exist, and may be illustrated by saying no more than mentioning the names of the Abbé Loisy and Baron von Hügel, of Father Cornely and Father Schouppe. And we have recently been shown in a series of striking articles in *The Contemporary Review* that, until less than a year ago, it was the hope of an advanced section of Roman Catholics that the Pope would make some declaration that the conclusions of the advanced school of the 'higher critics' are consistent with the Catholic doctrine of the Inspiration of Holy Scripture.

We have already, on more than one occasion, expressed in the pages of this Review our sense of the serious character of the theological questions which are involved in the controversy. And before we proceed to consider a particular part of the subject which is at present prominent, we wish to direct the attention of our readers to the grave practical danger of the controversy leading to the authority of the Bible being set aside by those who are not prepared and are not qualified to form an opinion on either side in the controversy itself. It is less difficult than some people seem to imagine to create a vague general sense that the Bible is a book about the authority of which, as well as about the meaning of which, divines quarrel, and that a practical man need not pay much attention to what it says. Those who know the Universities well are not without fear of the serious effect upon the younger residents of a sense of this kind. No sober-minded churchmen who will take the trouble to ascertain the drift of the books and magazines and newspapers of the day can fail to be alarmed at similar signs among the general public. And those who realize how near the conditions of life now bring the different classes of society in intercourse of thought, know that the depreciation of the Bible among the educated will have its reflexion among the poor, while we hear even from the Mission field echoes of troubles which we bear at home.

It is, of course, impossible, as things now are, that writers should hold their hands. The questions which have been raised must be debated. Those who hold beliefs must state and defend them. But we would plead with all, on whatever side they write, who care for the authority of the Word of God, or for the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, or for the interests of religion generally, to weigh well not only what is involved in the controversy itself, but also all that is connected



with it ; and to write or speak with a sense of responsibility which has not always been apparent in all past utterances on the subject.

We have put in the first place among the books at the head of this article the recent Encyclical of the Bishop of Rome. And our first word about it must be one of recognition of the value of the emphasis which the Pope lays upon the duty of studying Holy Scripture. It is no small reason for satisfaction that the head upon earth of the great Roman branch of the Church should impress upon his clergy the need of knowing the Bible, not in any superficial way, but in its original languages and with critical study of the text.

To any who had hoped that the Papal Encyclical would take up much the same position as that of the well-known Essay on Inspiration in *Lux Mundi*, the publication of the document must have been a grievous disappointment. A great part of it is occupied with positive declarations of the value of Holy Scripture and the past use of it in the Church ; but the Pope's hostility to the general methods of the 'higher critics' is plainly stated :

'There has arisen, to the great detriment of religion, an inept method, dignified by the name of the "higher criticism," which pretends to judge of the origin, integrity, and authority of each Book from internal indications alone. It is clear, on the other hand, that in historical questions, such as the origin and the handing down of writings, the witness of history is of primary importance, and that historical investigation should be made with the utmost care ; and that in this matter internal evidence is seldom of great value, except as confirmation. To look upon it in any other light will be to open the door to many evil consequences. It will make the enemies of religion much more bold and confident in attacking and mangling the Sacred Books ; and this vaunted "higher criticism" will resolve itself into the reflection of the bias and the prejudice of the critics. It will not throw on the Scripture the light which is sought, or prove of any advantage to doctrine ; it will only give rise to disagreement and dissension, those sure notes of error, which the critics in question so plentifully exhibit in their own persons ; and seeing that most of them are tainted with false philosophy and rationalism, it must lead to the elimination from the sacred writings of all prophecy and miracle, and of everything else that is outside the natural order.'

<sup>1</sup> 'Perperam enim et cum religionis damno inductum est artificium, nomine honestatum criticæ sublimioris, quo, ex solis internis, uti loquuntur, rationibus, cuiuspiam libri origo integritas auctoritas diiudicata emergant. Contra perspicuum est, in quæstionibus rei historicæ, cuiusmodi origo et conservatio librorum, historiæ testimonia valere præ ceteris, eaque esse quam studiosissime et conquirenda et excutienda : illas vero rationes internas plerumque non esse tanti, ut in causam, nisi ad quamdam confirmationem, possint advocari. Secus si fiat, magna profecto

The Pope does not, indeed, deal with the authorship of particular books. He is silent about the writer of the Pentateuch or of the Book of Daniel. But his opinion as to the methods of criticism which have been used to determine authorship could hardly be more clearly expressed than in the passage we have quoted.

The declarations on the relation of Inspiration to fact are very definite. God is the author of the Sacred Books, and therefore they can contain no error. In matters of physical science, indeed, the sacred writers

'did not seek to penetrate the secrets of nature, but rather described and dealt with things in more or less figurative language, or in terms which were commonly used at the time, and which in many instances are in daily use at this day, even by the most eminent men of science. Ordinary speech primarily and properly describes what comes under the senses; and somewhat in the same way the sacred writers—as the Angelic Doctor also reminds us—"went by what sensibly appeared" (*Summa Theol.* p. I. q. lxx. a. i. ad 3), or put down what God, speaking to men, signified, in the way men could understand and were accustomed to.'

As regards the text, too, copyists may have made mistakes; and passages may, after study, remain ambiguous; but the histories recorded must be entirely true, for if there should be error it would not be that of the inspired writers, but of God Himself:

'It is absolutely wrong and forbidden either to narrow Inspiration to certain parts only of Holy Scripture or to admit that the sacred writer has erred. For the system of those who, in order to rid themselves of these difficulties, do not hesitate to concede that Divine consequentur incommoda. Nam hostibus religionis plus confidentiæ futurum est ut sacrorum authenticitatem Librorum impetant et discerpant: illud ipsum quod extollunt genus criticæ sublimioris, eo demum recidet, ut suum quisque studium præiudicatamque opinionem interpretando sectentur: inde neque Scripturis quæsitum lumen accedet, neque ulla doctrinæ oritura utilitas est, sed certa illa patebit erroris nota, quæ est varietas et dissimilitudo sentiendi, ut iam ipsi sunt documento huiusce novæ principis disciplinæ: inde etiam, quia plerique infecti sunt vanæ philosophiæ et rationalismi placitis, inde prophetias, miracula, cetera quæcumque naturæ ordinem superent, ex sacris Libris dimovere non verebuntur.'

<sup>1</sup> 'Quare eos, potius quam explorationem naturæ recta persequantur, res ipsas aliquando describere et tractare aut quodam translationis modo, aut sicut communis sermo per ea ferebat tempora, hodieque de multis fert rebus in quotidiana vita, ipsos inter homines scientissimos. Vulgari autem sermone quum ea primo propriè efferantur quæ cadant sub sensus, non dissimiliter scriptor sacer (monuitque et Doctor Angelicus) "ea secutus est, quæ sensibilibus apparent" (*Summa Theol.* p. I. q. lxx. a. i. ad 3), seu quæ Deus ipse, homines alloquens, ad eorum captum significavit humano more.'

Inspiration regards the things of faith and morals, and nothing beyond, because (as they wrongly think) in a question of the truth or falsehood of a passage, we should consider not so much what God has said as the reason and purpose which He had in mind in saying it—this system cannot be tolerated. For all the books which the Church receives as sacred and canonical are written wholly and entirely, with all their parts, at the dictation of the Holy Ghost; and so far is it from being possible that any error can co-exist with Inspiration, that Inspiration not only is essentially incompatible with error, but excludes and rejects it as absolutely and necessarily as it is impossible that God Himself, the Supreme Truth, can utter that which is not true. . . . Because the Holy Ghost employed men as His instruments we cannot therefore say that it was these inspired instruments who, perchance, have fallen into error, and not the primary Author. For, by supernatural power, He so moved and impelled them to write—He was so present to them—that the things which He ordered, and those only, they first rightly understood, then willed faithfully to write down, and finally expressed in apt words and with infallible truth. Otherwise it could not be said that He was the Author of the entire Scripture. . . . It follows that those who maintain that an error is possible in any genuine passage of the sacred writings either pervert the Catholic doctrine of Inspiration or make God the author of such error.<sup>1</sup>

These passages, as it appears to us, can have no other meaning than that, though there is no reason that parts of Holy Scripture may not be designedly allegorical and that phraseology in common use should not be employed for some purposes, even if inaccurate, all which is intended to be his-

<sup>1</sup> 'Nefas omnino fuerit, aut inspirationem' ad aliquas tantum sacræ Scripturæ partes coangustare, aut concedere sacrum ipsum errasse auctorem. Nec enim toleranda est eorum ratio, qui ex istis difficultatibus sese expediunt, id nimirum dare non dubitantes, inspirationem divinam ad res fidei morumque, nihil præterea, pertinere eo quod falso arbitrentur, de veritate sententiarum quum agitur, non adeo exquirendum quænam dixerit Deus, ut non magis perpendatur quam ob causam ea dixerit. Etenim libri omnes atque integri, quos Ecclesia tamquam sacros et canonicos recipit, cum omnibus suis partibus, Spiritu Sancto dictante, conscripti sunt: tantum vero abest, ut divinæ inspirationi error ullus subesse possit, ut ea per se ipsa, non modo errorem excludat omnem, sed tam necessario excludat et respuat, quam necessarium est, Deum, summam Veritatem, nullius omnino erroris auctorem esse. . . . Quare nihil admodum refert, Spiritum Sanctum assumpsisse homines tamquam instrumenta ad scribendum, quasi, non quidem primario auctori, sed scriptoribus inspiratis quidpiam falsi elabi potuerit. Nam supernaturali ipse virtute ita eos ad scribendum excitavit et movit, ita scribentibus adstitit, ut ea omnia eaque sola quæ ipse iuberet, et recte mente conciperent, et fideliter conscribere vellent, et apte infallibili veritate exprimerent: secus non ipse esset auctor sacræ Scripturæ universæ. . . . Consequitur, ut qui in locis authenticis Librorum sanctorum quidpiam falsi contineri posse existiment, ii profecto aut catholicam divinæ inspirationis notionem pervertant, aut Deum ipsum erroris faciant auctorem.'

torical is undoubtedly true, and, moreover, is accurately told, when phraseology is allowed for, in all its details.

The publication of the Encyclical was felt to be a severe blow by the 'liberal school' of Roman Catholic critics. The Abbé Loisy announced that the publication of *L'Enseignement Biblique* would cease. A writer in *The Contemporary Review* of April last thought it seemly and consistent with his position as a Roman Catholic to lecture the Pope severely for his ignorance of the subject and of the state of mind existing about it, and to describe the actions of the God of the Old Testament in a strain of satirical humour which recalled one of the most painful features of the writings of Professor Wellhausen. The Encyclical, in the opinion of this writer,

'in the name of reason . . . lands us in a maze of difficulties and contradictions whence the wit of man is unable to find an issue. In the name of religion it undermines our sentiment of awe for the Divine attributes' (pp. 606, 607).<sup>1</sup>

A third attitude has been taken by a third member of the same 'school.' The Baron von Hügel, in a temperate and thoughtful letter published in *The Spectator* of May 19 last, has attempted to show that the denial of the possibility of 'error' may be interpreted with so great a latitude as to leave it possible to accept at the same time the statements of the Encyclical and the position of the advanced 'higher critics.' The Baron's desire not to contradict the teaching of the head of his own branch of the Church is creditable to him; we cannot say we are convinced by his arguments or think that his interpretation accounts for the language which the Pope has used.

The Encyclical could not fail to be of interest to one who has given so much thought to the bearing of Old Testament studies on Catholic theology and to the capacity of the Papacy to meet human needs as Mr. Gore. And in *The Guardian* of April 11 last, under the heading of 'Literature and Science,' there appeared an article on the subject to which his signature

<sup>1</sup> The whole series of articles by this writer are of great significance, and the divergence of opinion between him and Father Brandi as to the connexion of questions of Biblical criticism with that of the general attitude of the Pope may be especially noticed. See *Contemporary Review*, May 1893, p. 664, and June 1893, pp. 900, 901.

We are glad to see that Father Clarke has written an answer to 'the author of *The Policy of the Pope*,' which has been published in the *Contemporary Review* for July 1894. Father Clarke's standpoint is not altogether identical with our own, but he shows, with much success, the worthless character of the arguments upon which the writer of the articles to which we have referred above based his attack upon the Old Testament.

was attached. In this article the Encyclical was criticised with great severity, and it was regarded as containing

'an assertion by the Pope of "verbal inspiration" as the indubitable doctrine of the Church ;'

and as being

'an entire victory of the school of extreme theologians (such as would be represented by Cornely, the leading author of the recent Jesuit *Scriptura Sacre Cursus*), who have been trying of recent years to tie the Roman Church to the scholastic rigorism as to the meaning of Inspiration.'

And if Mr. Gore has too much good taste and Christian feeling to use some of the language of the writer in *The Contemporary Review* to whom we have referred, his condemnation is hardly less vehement :

'No document,' he says, 'could present more emphatically the spectacle of a great ruler failing to deal with a situation—failing ludicrously, marvellously, utterly—than this Encyclical of the Pope to the Bishops of the Roman Catholic Communion. It is written as by a being inhabiting a planet different from that which is the scene of modern knowledge. . . . It cannot, in fact, be conceived how a document more out of date, more unsympathetic, more crude, more unpastoral than the present Encyclical could have been issued.'

We should have welcomed a calm and deliberate statement by Mr. Gore of the meaning which he believed the Encyclical to be intended to convey, and of the objections which he felt might rightly be taken to it. We can only regret that he allowed himself to adopt so belligerent a tone in criticising a document which is entitled to respect, and in writing on a subject of so grave importance.

Passing on from the manner of his attack to the substance of it, we question whether he allows sufficiently for the recognition by the Pope of the 'communis sermo,' or for the possibility which, as it appears to us, is left for the existence of allegory in the inspired writings. If, though God is the author, the language used is 'accommodated' to that customary among men, and if allegorical descriptions may form part of inspired teachings, a widely reaching principle is introduced, which Mr. Gore in his criticism of the Encyclical appears to have ignored. And in connexion with this point it should be noticed that he does not seem to have sufficiently realized the fact that it is addressed, not to the general public, but to the Bishops in communion with the Pope.

Very often in the last few years it has been our painful and distasteful duty to break the silence which our regard and respect for Mr. Gore, and our sense of the great services he

has rendered to the Faith, would have made congenial to us, and to express our disagreement with much in his teaching. And on this occasion we feel strongly, not only that his own position is unsound, but also that he has failed really to grapple with the document he has criticised. While we have our own criticisms to make on the teaching of the Encyclical in what we are about to say on the subject of Inspiration, we cannot accept Mr. Gore's view of it as just.

A recent number of *The Quarterly Review* contained an article on 'Old Testament Criticism.' It might perhaps have been anticipated beforehand that the general standpoint of our esteemed contemporary on such a subject would be the same as our own, since for years past it has been associated with traditional beliefs on many critical questions. The article is disappointing in more ways than one, although it is not without satisfactory features. It is indeed a matter for great thankfulness that a competent writer in a widely circulated and influential periodical should say with much emphasis that the most popular 'critical' view of the Pentateuch is 'not proven' and is inconsistent with the position of critics of ability, and that he should call attention to the need of listening to the arguments of archaeologists as well as of critics, and should point out that, in addition to the technical evidence derived from archaeology,

'men who claim no special knowledge, but watch the currents of thought, are asking us to note how in parallel branches of study the confident assertions of subjective criticism have been discounted. They draw pictures of the Tübingen school and its discomfiture, of the rehabilitation of Homer in spite of the Wolfians. They are confident that, as it has been with the New Testament so will it be with the Old; that, as it has been with Homer so will it be with Moses' (pp. 408, 409).

But, while we think this expression of opinion in this section of the article to be of value, we can only regret that the writer should have thought it necessary to repudiate the word 'traditional' as applied to the Mosaic character of the Pentateuch. It is, of course, true, as he points out, that no Council of the Christian Church has ever made a formal declaration that Moses was the author, and that there is no express statement either in the Old Testament or in the New Testament that the whole of the five books was written by him. It is no less unquestionable that the ordinary Jewish belief of the time of our Lord and the ordinary Christian belief since the foundation of the Church has been that the



Pentateuch as a whole was written by Moses.<sup>1</sup> Different opinions may possibly be held as to the exact inferences which may rightly be deduced from these facts; the facts themselves are sufficient to justify the use of the word 'traditional' as Bishop Ellicott used it.

It is of graver import that the writer should go out of his way to attack the appeal of the Bishop of Oxford<sup>2</sup> to 'the language of our Lord in reference to the Old Testament Scriptures.' There are parts of the legislation of the Pentateuch referred to by our Lord in such a way as to expressly assert their Mosaic character. The regulations about Divorce<sup>3</sup> and about Circumcision<sup>4</sup> are definitely assigned to Moses.<sup>5</sup> While the teaching of our Lord does not commit us to any particular view on a great many critical questions, and leaves open such different opinions on the subjects of compilation, and codifying, and editorial additions as Bishop Ellicott, in his 'rectification' of the 'traditional view,'<sup>6</sup> contemplated as possible, it does make it certain that some specified parts of the legislation of the Pentateuch are by Moses, and also that the character of the Law generally is trustworthy and authoritative.

This leads us to the point about which at the present time there is need of special consideration. It is less of authorship generally than of the character of the sacred writings. It is not so much how far a Mosaic code of laws may have, at a later period, been added to, and the original code, together with the additions, preserved in one book, without any statements to mark the different dates, as whether historical statements may misrepresent facts. Within the Pentateuch it is part of our present question whether speeches ascribed to Moses in the Book of Deuteronomy may be regarded as the deliberate misrepresentation of the crafty advocate of an ecclesiastical theory unknown to Moses himself, or as the innocent mistake of an idealizing writer who supposed that the institutions he valued must have existed ever since the Mosaic giving of the Law. The character of the speeches assigned to David in the Book of the Chronicles is

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Phil. Jud. *Vita Moys.* iii. 39; Joseph. *Antiq.* IV. viii. 48; Tr. *Baba Bathra*, fol. 14, in the Talmud; and the Fathers generally, *passim*; the passage in St. Jer. C. *Helvid.* vii. assumes the generally Mosaic character of the Pentateuch, while allowing for the possibility of occasional notes having been added by Ezra.

<sup>2</sup> *Bishop of Oxford's Second Charge*, 1893, pp. 16-20.

<sup>3</sup> Deut. xxiv. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Lev. xii. 3.

<sup>5</sup> St. Matt. xix. 8; St. Mark x. 3; St. John vii. 19, 22, 23.

<sup>6</sup> Ellicott, *Christus Comprobator*, pp. 46-51.



another part of the same question ; and it includes, also, such smaller matters as the inquiry, What is the necessary value of dates and numbers in an inspired work ?

There are few things more striking in God's dealings with man than the respect paid to natural faculties and the care taken to supply supernatural aid when it is needed. Philosophers, historians, men of science, inventors, are for the most part dependent on the training and use of their human powers. The lives of those who have a part to play in the advance and well-being of society and of nations are, for the most part, formed and shaped by natural conditions, and dependent for their strength on natural means. Where that which is natural fails to be adequate God gives supernatural grace. Those who are left to come nearer to scientific truth by the patient toil of centuries receive a knowledge of God which is beyond the powers of discovery which their natural faculties possess, and which was therefore given in the past by Revelation. Those who are left to sustain the lives of their bodies by food which their own laborious exertion obtains are given by Divine grace the support for their souls which their natural powers could not gain.

This great principle underlies all that the Church has to do as the teacher which God has placed in the world and as the instrument and the vehicle of His grace. It is because there are domains of truth for which natural powers and investigation are insufficient that there is a supernatural guidance of the Church of Christ. It is because human faculties cannot forgive sin and produce holiness either in the individuals who are using the faculties or in others for whose benefit they are used that the Sacraments are given as means of grace.

The same principle is involved in the Incarnation itself. An offshoot of Apollinarianism imagined that the body of our Lord was only a modification of His Divine Essence. Christian thought clung with passionate intensity and deliberate purpose to the truth that the Blessed Virgin Mary was the 'Mother of God,' and that Christ's human body was formed of her substance. It was the most wonderful use of that which is natural. And in Christ's continued life the natural was habitually used. His body was sustained by food ; His brain was refreshed by sleep ; He died under treatment which proves fatal to men. Under ordinary circumstances He used the knowledge which He possessed by means of human experience. But there is another side. The supernatural is used in that for which the natural is inadequate.

The operation of the Holy Ghost enables the Virgin to become the Mother. Christ's own Divine power on occasion causes the actions of His humanity to transcend the limits of powers that are human. He can walk upon the sea and quell the storm and raise the dead. He possesses knowledge which surpasses that which by experience He has gained.

We may expect that a principle which pervades the lives of Christians, and is discernible in the Church, and may be traced in the Incarnate Life itself, will be found in the written Word of God. This, on investigation, proves to be the case. There are many parts of Holy Scripture which show that the writers used their natural powers. The opening words of St. Luke's Gospel<sup>1</sup> afford the clearest evidence of this fact, but it is shown, also, by many features in the books. It is hardly less unnatural to suppose that such passages as the genealogical lists in the Old and the New Testament were, in ordinary instances, drawn up from knowledge received through a special Inspiration of the Holy Ghost than it is to believe that, as some authors have contended, St. Paul was specially inspired with the knowledge which he used when he wrote that he had left a cloak at Troas and wished it to be brought to him.<sup>2</sup>

But even in all that is so written there is more than what is natural. If the knowledge possessed was to be of use for the accomplishment of the Divine purpose, it was necessary that there should be supernatural guidance in the selection of its various parts and in the method in which it was used.

Nor does this exhaust the supernatural side of Holy Scripture. Many parts of it were dependent on the express Revelation which transcends human thought. The guidance which might enable a writer to use the right facts in the right way in the Books of the Chronicles would be insufficient to account for the prophecies of Isaiah.

This is a way of regarding Holy Scripture which is obviously consistent with the features of it which study discloses, and it is parallel, to a remarkable extent, with the methods of God's action of which we have already written.<sup>3</sup>

In the Bible, then, human knowledge is utilized by God,

<sup>1</sup> St. Luke i. 1-4, especially verse 3, *παρηκολούθηκόντι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς*, 'having traced the course of all things accurately from the first.'

<sup>2</sup> 2 Ep. to Tim. iv. 13. The relation of Inspiration to this passage and some others is left open by Patrizi, *Comment. de Script. Divin.* § 6.

<sup>3</sup> It must not be forgotten that while the human element in Holy Scripture corresponds to the Humanity of Christ and the higher element to His Deity, there is nothing which is equivalent to the personal union of the Incarnation.

and Inspiration is the Divine gift which makes it useful for its special purpose, and which adds to it when it is inadequate. It is because the gift is Divine that the book which is the result is truly described as the 'Word of God.'

The supernatural character of Holy Scripture has been recognized from the first by Christian writers. St. Peter wrote of the Old Testament that in it 'men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost';<sup>1</sup> St. Paul described it as 'inspired by God.'<sup>2</sup> What they said of the Old Testament was substantially repeated by the Fathers of the whole Bible. St. Clement of Rome describes the prophets as the 'ministers of the grace of God through the Holy Spirit,' and speaks of their words as the utterances of the Holy Ghost, and says of the Apostles that they were entrusted with the word of God with the fulness of the Holy Spirit.<sup>3</sup> St. Ignatius regards the prophets as the recipients of the breathing of the grace of Christ.<sup>4</sup> Justin declares that the Old Testament writers were filled with the Holy Ghost and spake by the Divine Spirit.<sup>5</sup> The author of the *Exhortation to the Greeks*, whether Justin or another, describes the teaching of the prophets as the work of Divine Inspiration.<sup>6</sup> Irenæus,<sup>7</sup> Tertullian,<sup>8</sup> the Alexandrian Clement,<sup>9</sup> Cyprian,<sup>10</sup> Origen,<sup>11</sup> all see the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost in the work of the prophets and other Scriptural writers. St. Cyril of Jerusalem emphatically declares that it was the same Holy Spirit who spake in the prophets and came to the Apostles on the day of Pentecost.<sup>12</sup> St. Augustine sees in the Scriptures the Spirit of God speaking through men.<sup>13</sup> The Church herself, in the Creed she accepted as the formulated expression of her unchanging faith, affirmed that the Holy Ghost spake through the prophets.<sup>14</sup>

Not less remarkable, and still more instructive, is the use

<sup>1</sup> St. Pet. i. 21.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Ep. to Tim. iii. 16.

<sup>3</sup> St. Clem. Ro. 1 *Cor.* viii. xiii. xvi. xlii. Bishop Lightfoot translates the last passage 'confirmed in the word of God with full assurance of the Holy Ghost.' The words are, πιστωθέντες ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ πληροφορίας πνεύματος ἁγίου.

<sup>4</sup> St. Ignat. *Magn.* viii. ix.

<sup>5</sup> Just. Mart. *Dial. c. Tryph.* vii.

<sup>6</sup> *Ad Græc. Cohort.* xxxviii. The distinction made between the Sibyl, ἀπὸ τινος δυνατῆς ἐπιπνοίας διὰ χρησμῶν ὑμᾶς διδασκούσης, and the prophets, τῶν διὰ τῆς θείας ἐπιπνοίας διδασκόντων ὑμᾶς, should be noticed in a work which assigns a very high value to some heathen utterances.

<sup>7</sup> Irenæus, *C. Hæc.* IV. xxxiv. 8.

<sup>8</sup> Tert. *Apol.* xviii.

<sup>9</sup> Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 16 (p. 893, Potter).

<sup>10</sup> St. Cyp. *De Oper. et Eleem.* ix.

<sup>11</sup> Origen, *De Princ.* præf. 4.

<sup>12</sup> St. Cyr. Jer. *Catech.* xvi. 4.

<sup>13</sup> St. Aug. *De Civit. Dei*, xviii. 43.

<sup>14</sup> *Symb. Constant. ; Def. Fid. Conc. Chal.*

to which the Fathers put the Bible. From its teaching on doctrinal matters there is no appeal. Its words are full of a profound significance. It has a position and will bear a method of interpretation which could not be justified if it be not supernatural.<sup>1</sup>

Because of this supernatural element of Divine power the Church has ever regarded the Holy Scriptures as a final authority in all matters of faith and morals. The decisions of the Councils of Trent and of the Vatican are not binding upon English churchmen, but they sum up accurately in this matter the unvarying tradition of the Universal Church.<sup>2</sup>

Before we pass on to consider the relation of Inspiration to the facts of the histories which the Bible records, it will be convenient for us to explain a little more fully what we mean by the authority of Scripture in faith and morals.

It is not to be denied that there is real progress in Scriptural teaching. The doctrine of the Trinity illustrates it in theology.<sup>3</sup> The teaching about the future life shows it in regard to the destiny of man.<sup>4</sup> A comparison of the words of Moses and the words of Christ on the subject of marriage,<sup>5</sup> or on the vindication of self,<sup>6</sup> proves its existence in different departments of the moral law.

This progress differs to a certain extent in different matters of the theological truth and also in moral commands. All which is taught in the Old Testament about God is preserved unaltered in itself in the New Testament. The clear revelation of the Son and the Spirit does not impair the truth of the distinctive position of the Father or of the oneness of the Godhead. The greater emphasis on the mercy and the love

<sup>1</sup> The force of this argument is altogether independent of the value of particular interpretations of passages in Holy Scripture. The point is that the general method of use implies a belief in the supernatural character of the Bible. This may be illustrated by comparing, e.g., two such different books as the *Orations against the Arians* of St. Athanasius and the *Enchiridion* of St. Augustine.

<sup>2</sup> Conc. Trid., Sess. IV.; Conc. Vat. *Constit. Dogmat. de Fid. Cathol.* cap. ii. We are not, of course, considering the question what books are to be accounted canonical.

<sup>3</sup> The doctrine of the Holy Trinity was foreshadowed in the Old Testament (see Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 49-63), but only in such a manner as to pave the way for the clear revelation of it in the New Testament.

<sup>4</sup> This is not open to question. Cf. 2 Ep. to Tim. i. 10. But the darkness of the Old Testament on the subject of the future life has been exaggerated; see Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet*, pp. 492-513.

<sup>5</sup> Deut. xiv. 1-4; St. Matt. v. 27-32, xix. 3-9; St. Mark x. 2-12; St. Luke xvi. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Ex. xxi. 22-25; Lev. xxiv. 19, 20; Deut. xix. 21; St. Matt. v. 38-40.

of God does not make His justice and the reality of His wrath less. While the solemnity of death is not taken away and a sense of gloom must still remain over the condition of the departed, the express knowledge of the eternal future and the facts of the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ shed a light upon the state of the dead. With respect to the God-head and to the life of the soul after death, there is in differing degrees the preservation of the old truth together with the new aspect in which it is regarded because of the fuller knowledge which has been revealed.

In morality there are changes in special commands. There is no change in the principle involved or in the intended end. The races of men and mankind in general have to be trained by a process analogous to the training of the character of an individual. A wise parent or schoolmaster will forbid at one age what he does not forbid at another, and will sometimes command that which, at other times, he either does not mention or actually prohibits. In so doing he does not contradict himself; his mind is all along the same, only it sees that under differing conditions, different means must be used to attain that which is the one aim. An ignorant child thinks he is unjustly treated because he may not do what is allowed to another person. A casual observer imagines that a wise ruler is inconsistent or weak. Those who understand what is going on know the strength and the justice and the consistency.<sup>1</sup>

It is part of the respect with which God treats the human character and faculties, that the moral training of mankind was gradual. There is no contradiction because Moses allowed divorce and Christ prohibited it, or because Moses permitted, within defined limits, a law of revenge while Christ taught patient submission to wrong. If too high a standard is placed

<sup>1</sup> Cf. St. Aug. *Conf.* i. 4, 'opera mutas, nec mutas consilium,' *Epist.* cxxxviii. 2: 'Nonne hyemi aestas addito sensim calore succedit? Nonne diurnis tempora nocturna vertuntur? Quoties nostrae variantur aetates? Adolescentiae pueritia non reditura cedit; juvenus adolescentiae non mansura succedit; finiens juventutem senectus morte finitur. Haec omnia mutantur, nec mutatur divinae providentiae ratio, qua fit ut ista mutantur. Non autem opinor cum agricola aestate aliud jussit quam jusserrat hyeme, ratio mutatur agriculturae. Et cum mane surgit qui nocte quiescebat, vitae consilium non mutavit. Aliud magister adolescenti quam puero solebat, imposuit. Doctrina igitur constans, mutato praecepto non mutata mutavit instructionem.' St. Greg. Magn. *Moral.* xvi. 10 (§ 14): 'Omnipotens enim Deus etsi plerumque mutat sententiam, consilium nunquam;' xvi. 37 (§ 46). 'Cum ergo exterius mutari videtur sententia, interius consilium non mutatur;' St. Thom. Aq. *S. T. I.* xix. 7, 'aliud est mutare voluntatem; et aliud est velle aliquarum rerum mutationem'; id. *In Heb.* cap. vi. lectio 4, 'Consilium Dei est omnino immobile. . . . Sed dispositio est bene mutabilis.'

before an individual as an obligatory law in an early stage of his training, his character is not made but broken. So with the race. By allowing for a time a lower level, God gradually raised. Jael, because the desire for what was right was the central force of her being, was accepted,<sup>1</sup> although the particular means she used, judged by the Christian standard, were wrong. The name of Rahab is in the number of the faithful<sup>2</sup> because at the great crisis of her life she chose the right cause, although she had previously acquiesced in sin of a repugnant kind, and in the moment of the right choice used questionable means.<sup>3</sup> In all such cases, the true meaning of the commands or prohibitions or commendations of the Divine Spirit can only be understood by considering the maxims or the acts in connexion with the context in which they stand.

There is more to consider than the context and the time. There is the relation also of the Divine meaning to the human words. The outpourings of the Psalmists' needs and sorrows and thanksgivings, which are the real expression of what they genuinely felt, are upraised to be voices of God. The imagery of the appeal for vengeance is that which would be natural to the Psalmists at the time they write; it is not the imagery in which the appeal is clothed, but the reality of the wrath of God against sin and the righteousness of the punishment of impenitence which the Divine Spirit declares.<sup>4</sup>

It follows that in ascertaining the theological doctrines of Holy Scripture, passages must be compared and combined. If it is the case that to take our Lord's own words, 'My Father is greater than I,'<sup>5</sup> and interpret them without reference to any other teaching, would almost certainly lead to most serious error, how much more must statements of the truth made by inspired Prophets and Apostles be considered in connexion with the circumstances under which they were spoken, and in combination with statements made at other times.

So also in moral teaching, care must be taken to distinguish that which is commended from that which is allowed, and that which is permitted as temporary training from that which is commanded as a final end. When Holy Scripture is

<sup>1</sup> Judg. v. 24-27.

<sup>2</sup> Heb. xi. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Josh. ii. 1-22.

<sup>4</sup> Quite apart from the question of Inspiration, the view of Psalms lv. lxix. cix. which regards them as utterances of personal vindictiveness is not the most probable. Without entirely committing ourselves to all there said, we may refer to a very suggestive statement on this matter in Professor Kirkpatrick's *The Psalms, Book I. (Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges)*, Introduction, pp. lxx-lxxv.

<sup>5</sup> St. John xiv. 28.



so treated it yields its treasures. Each part of it, rightly understood, fairly considered, properly combined, is the teaching of God.

If this is the sense in which Holy Scripture is an infallible guide in morals and faith, what is the relation of its Inspiration to matters of fact? In attempting to answer this question, we may quote a passage from a revered Roman Catholic writer whose article on this subject, published ten years ago, has, we feel convinced, been greatly misunderstood by some English Churchmen. In the essay 'On the Inspiration of Scripture,' the name of which we have prefixed to our present article, Cardinal Newman used these very definite words:

'But while the Councils, as has been shown, lay down so emphatically the Inspiration of Scripture in respect to "faith and morals," it is remarkable that they do not say a word directly as to its Inspiration in matters of fact. Yet are we, therefore, to conclude that the record of facts in Scripture does not come under the guarantee of its Inspiration? We are not so to conclude, and for this plain reason—the sacred narrative, carried on through so many ages, what is it but the very matter for our faith and rule of our obedience? What but that narrative itself is the supernatural teaching, in order to which Inspiration is given? What is the whole history, traced out in Scripture from Genesis to Esdras and thence on to the end of the Acts of the Apostles, but a manifestation of Divine Providence, on the one hand interpretative, on a large scale and with analogical applications, of universal history, and on the other preparatory, typical, and predictive, of the Evangelical Dispensation? Its pages breathe of providence and grace, of our Lord, and of His work and teaching, from beginning to end. It views facts in those relations in which neither ancients, such as the Greek and Latin classical historians, nor moderns, such as Niebuhr, Grote, Ewald, or Michelet, can view them. In this point of view it has God for its author, even though the finger of God traced no words but the Decalogue. Such is the claim of Bible history in its substantial fulness to be accepted *de fide* as true. In this point of view Scripture is inspired, not only in faith and morals, but in all its parts which bear on faith, including matters of fact' (pp. 189-90).

This is, it seems to us, the least which can be said. The 'Bible history' is 'true' 'in its substantial fulness'; 'Scripture is inspired' 'in all its parts which bear on faith, including matters of fact.'

The whole course of the Old Testament history bears on faith. The lives of the Patriarchs, the wanderings of the Israelites after leaving Egypt, the histories of the Judges, of the Kingdom, of the Exile and the Return, all have a profound significance. Almost any treatise of any Father which



deals with the Old Testament will illustrate our meaning.<sup>1</sup> The facts of Jewish history are to the Fathers part of the revelation of the truth and will of God. It is not the Fathers only who teach this. Those who are inclined to scoff at the patristic treatment of the Bible may, with great profit, be referred to the New Testament. To St. Paul the patriarchal history has an inner meaning, which teaches an essential part of the Christian Faith.<sup>2</sup> To the same Apostle the wanderings in the desert are full of permanent instruction.<sup>3</sup> The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews partly bases his doctrine of the High Priesthood of Christ on the lives of Melchizedek and Aaron,<sup>4</sup> and builds up part of his argument on the facts which befell the Israelites.<sup>5</sup> The same Epistle, many other passages in St. Paul's writings besides those to which we have referred, the New Testament generally, afford copious illustrations of such a use of Old Testament facts. And our Lord Himself, while performing the work not merely of an inspired but of a Divine Teacher, referred to the histories of David<sup>6</sup> and Elijah<sup>7</sup> and Elisha<sup>8</sup> and Jonah<sup>9</sup> as conveying spiritual and theological truth.

Such a use of the facts of the Old Testament is incompatible with the facts being invented or idealized. If 'all' the 'parts which bear on faith' are ratified by the Divine authority, the main course at least of the history and the facts which it records are so ratified.

It is consistent with Inspiration that the speeches in Deuteronomy should have been written in their present form at a later time than that of Moses, and that the expression of them should receive a certain colouring from the circumstances of the writer who put them into the form of a book. There is no difficulty in the speeches ascribed to David in the Book of the Chronicles being written in phraseology later than that of his time, but natural to the compiler of the work.<sup>10</sup> Such changes in the exact form are parallel to the translation of a book from one language to another, and do not affect the substance of what is said. There are, on the

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., St. Aug. *De Civit. Dei*, xiii-xvi.

<sup>2</sup> Gal. iv. 24, ἀτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα. See the whole passage, iv. 21-31, and cf. Rom. ix. 10-13, 15-18.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. x. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Heb. v.-vii.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 7-iv. 9.

<sup>6</sup> St. Mark ii. 25-28.

<sup>7</sup> St. Luke iv. 25, 26.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 27.

<sup>9</sup> St. Matt. xii. 39-41, xvi. 4; St. Luke xi. 30-32.

<sup>10</sup> It will be understood that we are not expressing any critical opinion as to the presence of later colouring or phraseology, but simply stating that if it is there it does not affect the Inspiration of the book in which the speeches are recorded.

other hand, the gravest objections to the speeches in Deuteronomy and the Chronicles having been invented, or in their substantially misrepresenting what Moses and David said. The difference between the two views is that the one leaves the facts which are the basis of doctrine and morality untouched while the other destroys them.

Similarly, the value of the facts in their bearing on doctrine and morals is not affected by minute errors. The moral and doctrinal teaching of the genealogies of our Lord remains the same if names were accidentally misplaced or artificially arranged in the documents from which they were taken, and if the inspired writers did not correct them. The import of the histories of the kings of Judah and Israel is not lessened if here and there a date is wrongly given, or a number is inaccurate.<sup>1</sup> Such matters may well be looked upon as *obiter dicta*, in which the natural knowledge would not necessarily be corrected by the Divine Inspiration.

It is, as we have said before, the Divine meaning which is the message of God. The human language may be that in ordinary use, even if the exact expressions are not accurate. A familiar instance is the phrase of the rising and setting of the sun. Allegorical expressions, again, may be used if they are allegorically meant. It is an illustration that it cannot be laid down exactly what is meant by the tree which was in the midst of the garden<sup>2</sup> in the history of the Fall, or whether the serpent<sup>3</sup> is, as in the Book of the Revelation of St. John,<sup>4</sup> a name used to describe the Devil, or denotes that the Devil assumed that form. Moreover, an apparent chronological order is not always necessarily to be regarded as the exact order of events. The Evangelists St. Matthew and St. Luke place the second and third stages of our Lord's temptation in the wilderness differently,<sup>5</sup> and it is in the abstract possible that there may be an instance of a very different kind in the

<sup>1</sup> Here, again, we are not expressing any opinion on the critical question as to whether it will ultimately be found that there are errors in the genealogies as they stand, or in the other matters referred to. If reconciliations which have been suggested are not altogether satisfactory, they at any rate tend to show that if we knew all the facts many statements which now appear to be inconsistent with one another would be seen to be consistent. And in many matters of this kind mistakes of copyists are not unlikely. And there is a moral to be learnt from St. Luke ii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. iii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. iii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. xii. 9, xx. 2.

<sup>5</sup> It does not appear to be likely that the different order in this case is due to mistakes of copyists, and that the original text of the two Gospels agreed, a view maintained by, e.g., Patrizi, *De Evangel.* ii.

history of the Creation at the beginning of the Book of Genesis.<sup>1</sup>

But however much may be allowed in matters like these, which only touch the method in which the histories are expressed, and not the histories themselves, the facts of the Old Testament and the New Testament, as bearing on faith and morals, are ratified by God; and, to quote Cardinal Newman again:

'Let it be observed, its miracles [*i.e.* the miracles of Holy Scripture] are doctrinal facts, and in no sense of the phrase can be considered *obiter dicta*' (p. 198).

To return to the same illustrations we have used above, the supernatural prolongation of the day at the battle of Beth-horon<sup>2</sup> is not to be rejected because the phraseology in which it is expressed is the language of common life, which happens to be, from a scientific point of view, in exact contradiction to the events it ordinarily describes. The history of the Fall, however allegorical its method of expression may be, is a history and not a myth. The different stages of the Temptation of Christ, whatever their historical order, actually happened. The record of Creation, though different opinions may be held as to the meaning of its details, describes facts.

The Papal Encyclical, in our opinion, fails to allow sufficiently for the reality of the human element in Holy Scripture. The Bible itself indicates that documents which when originally written were not inspired were incorporated by the sacred writers in their inspired works. The wording of the Encyclical suggests that all which the Scriptures contain was inspired in its first composition.

It naturally follows from this position being taken by the Pope that he should, if our interpretation of his words is correct, think it impossible that, for instance, any number recorded in the original text of the Bible should be affected by mistake.

In this matter we consider the Encyclical to be open to criticism. There are grave reasons for thinking that, not only the more mechanical form of verbal Inspiration which leaves no work at all to the human faculties of the writers,

<sup>1</sup> The opinion that the order of the days of Creation is an artificial arrangement will be found in St. Aug. *De Gen. ad lit.* iv. 33 (§ 52), *De Gen. c. Manich.* i. 14 (§ 20), *De Gen. lib. imperf.* v. (§§ 19, 20), *De Civit. Dei*, xi. 6, 7; St. Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo*, i. 18; Alb. Magn. *In II. Sent.* xii. 1; St. Thom. Aq., *In II. Sent.* xii. i. 2, *S.T.* I. lviii. 6, 7 ad 1, lxviii. 1, lxix. 1, lxx. 1 ad 1, lxxiv. 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Josh. x. 12, 13. See, however, 'A Critical Examination of the Miracle at Beth-horon' in *C. Q. R.* January 1884, p. 313.

but also that form which, while recognizing the use of natural powers, lays down that in the most minute details exact accuracy is guaranteed by the Holy Ghost is incapable of proof, contrary to what may be inferred from the general methods of God's working, and inconsistent with much in Holy Scripture itself.

But, while on this point we can have little doubt that the ultimate judgment of the Church will be in accordance with the opinions expressed by Cardinal Newman rather than with the letter of Pope Leo XIII., we still think that the sincere gratitude of all Christians is due to the Pope for his recent attempt to guide thought in a difficult controversy, and we must recognize it as singularly hard that, since the Roman branch of the Church has been so frequently and so vigorously attacked for its neglect of the Bible, when the head of it on earth does try to promote Scriptural studies his words should be received in so unfriendly a spirit by some writers within his own communion and by others outside it.

Professor Sayce's work, *The 'Higher Criticism' and the Verdict of the Monuments*, is intimately connected with the subject of this article. It would be a formidable argument against the veracity of the Old Testament if it could be shown that the historical statements it contains were incompatible with the evidence afforded by extensive discoveries of monumental inscriptions which have taken place of late years. On the other hand, it is an argument of value if the monuments and the Old Testament confirm the testimony of one another.

Professor Sayce's reputation as an archæologist stands too high for him to need any word of commendation from us. And it is unnecessary to dwell at any length on the great knowledge of the subject which his present work displays or on the interest which attaches to every page. The identification of the Ebed-tob of the tablets of Tel el-Amarna with the Melchizedek of Genesis (pp. 174-178) and the light thrown on the Exodus from Egypt (pp. 249-262) are two instances of the attractive matter which the book contains. The value of the work lies in its details, and these deserve and require very close and attentive study. To a most remarkable extent they tend to confirm the historical statements of the Old Testament. They afford great help towards understanding the point of view of the Biblical writers. They enable us to realize better the proper significance of the inspired record :

'It has been said, especially by Keltic writers, that one of the chief defects of the Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon mind is its want of

the historical imagination. The ordinary man has not the power of transporting himself into a situation with which he is unfamiliar, or where the springs of action are new to him. He cannot divest himself of his own personality, with all its beliefs, prejudices, and inherited instincts.

'Oriental archæology is a corrective of this inability to realize and therefore to understand the history of the ancient East. It speaks to us in the tones of the nineteenth century—tones which we can comprehend and listen to. It sweeps away the modern romance which we have woven around the narratives of the Old Testament, and shows us that they are no theological fairy tales, but accounts of events which are alleged to have taken place in this work-a-day world. It tells us how the men thought and acted who were contemporary with the heroes of the Hebrew Scriptures, it brings before us as in a photograph the politics of the day and the theatre wherein those politics were represented. In reading Sennacherib's account of his campaign against Hezekiah we are brought face to face with history just as much as we should be by the columns of a modern newspaper, and we can picture the events with as much definiteness of outline in the one case as we can in the other' (pp. 559, 560).

Professor Sayce summarizes as follows the support afforded by the study of the monuments to the historical truthfulness of the Old Testament :

'We cannot fail to be struck by the fact that the evidence of Oriental archæology is on the whole distinctly unfavourable to the pretensions of the "higher criticism." The "apologist" may lose something, but the "higher critic" loses much more. That primary assumption of the late use of writing for literary purposes in Palestine, which, consciously or unconsciously, has done so much to wreck the belief of the critic in the earlier narratives of the Bible, has been shown to be utterly false. The cuneiform inscriptions have restored the historical credit of certain passages of the Pentateuch which had been resolved into myth, and have demonstrated the worthlessness of the arguments by which their mythic character had been maintained. The archæology of Genesis seems to show that the literary analysis of the book must be revised, and that the confidence with which one portion of a verse is assigned to one author and another portion of it to another is a confidence begotten of the study of modern critical literature and not of the literature of the past. Such microscopic analysis is the result of short sight' (p. 561).

So far, then, this learned work may be welcomed as a valuable ally by those who regard it as their duty to defend the historical character of the events recorded by the Old Testament writers. We cannot say that in all respects it is such an ally. It is possible to take a good deal of exception to Professor Sayce's view of the relation of the earlier parts of the Book of Genesis to the Babylonian literature. We

have never been able to see why the likeness of the Scriptural history to the Babylonian account proves that the writer of Genesis borrowed from the records of Babylon. The likeness does indeed afford valuable testimony to the reality of facts which, in however distorted a form, lingered on in various traditions. But there is no reason why the ancestors of Abraham should not have handed down to him early histories which contained the records of Creation and the Fall and expressed a monotheistic belief co-ordinately with the preservation by others of a tradition embodying much truth but distorted by polytheistic colouring. We fail to see sufficient reasons for the opinion that at some time or another the history in Genesis was modified, by a theological transformation from polytheism to monotheism,<sup>1</sup> from the existing Babylonian traditions. Yet, even if this was the case, such a selection and purification might be the work of the Divine Spirit, and the revised tradition might, under his guidance, truly describe the Creation and the Fall. Here, as elsewhere, the point is less the source and the method than the historical truth.

We are compelled to take more serious objection to the chapter on the Book of Daniel. We dissent emphatically, upon archæological and critical grounds, from Professor Sayce's conclusion that this book is not historically true. The passages he quotes from the inscriptions do not warrant such a statement; it rests rather upon theories such as he elsewhere condemns than upon archæology.<sup>2</sup> And the theo-

<sup>1</sup> The explanation given on pp. 84-87 of the plural form אֱלֹהִים appears to us particularly unhappy.

<sup>2</sup> The central point of Professor Sayce's position is in connexion with the fifth and sixth chapters of the Book of Daniel. He is of opinion that a comparison of the inscriptions with these chapters makes it clear that the latter are unhistorical. The inscriptions on which he relies are the 'Annalistic Tablet of Cyrus' (p. 499); the inscription which consists of 'a manifesto of' the 'policy' of Cyrus and a declaration of his 'claim' 'to be the legitimate successor of the older Babylonian monarchs' (p. 503); and the 'inscription of Nabonidos, compiled soon after the overthrow of Astyages in B.C. 549, when Cyrus was first beginning his career of conquest' (p. 507). The first of these thus describes the taking of Babylon by 'Cyrus': 'On the fourteenth day of the month Sippara was taken without fighting; Nabonidos fled. On the sixteenth day Gobryas (Ugbaru), the governor of the country of Kurdistan (Gutium) and the soldiers of Cyrus entered Babylon without fighting. Afterwards Nabonidos was captured, after being bound in Babylon' (p. 502). According to the second: 'Without fighting and battle (Merodach) caused him to enter into Babylon; his city of Babylon he spared; in a hiding-place Nabonidos the king, who revered him not, did he give into his hand;' 'when I entered into Babylon in peace, with joy and gladness I founded



logical standpoint we have endeavoured to emphasize in this

the seat of dominion in the palace of the princes ; ' my vast army spread itself peacefully in the midst of Babylon ' (pp. 505-6). The third speaks of the relation of Nabonidos towards Bel-Merodach, and of the overthrow of the Manda, whom Professor Sayce identifies with the Scythians and distinguishes from the Madâ or Medes, by Cyrus. Professor Sayce places this peaceful conquest of Babylon by Cyrus in sharp contrast to the account given by Herodotus and in the Book of Daniel, and thinks it to be established that this latter account is ' really a reflection into the past of the actual sieges undergone by the city in the reigns of Darius Hystaspis and Xerxes,' while it is a mistake that ' Belshazzar, and not Nabonidos ' was ' the last king of the Chaldeans,' and that ' his successor ' was ' Darius the Mede,' and that ' the king of the Chaldeans ' was ' slain,' since ' Nabonidos the Babylonian king ' ' was not slain and Cyrus entered Babylon " in peace." ' Nor was Belshazzar the son of Nebuchadrezzar, as we are repeatedly told in the fifth chapter of Daniel. He was the son of the usurper Nabonidos. ' The editor of the fifth chapter of the Book of Daniel could have been as little a contemporary of the events he professes to record as was Herodotus. For both alike the true history of the Babylonian empire has been overclouded and foreshortened by the lapse of time. The three kings who reigned between Nebuchadrezzar and Nabonidos have been forgotten, and the last king of the Babylonian empire has become the son of its founder ' (pp. 524-7). It follows that, in his opinion, the writer of the Book of Daniel, in anything approaching its present form, lived at a late date, when the knowledge of the true history of Cyrus had been lost, was ignorant of the facts, and confused the whole policy of Cyrus with that of Darius.

It is not so easy to set aside the main facts of the taking of Babylon by Cyrus recorded by Herodotus as Professor Sayce supposes. In addition to what he calls the ' first taking of Babylon ' (i. 191), Herodotus describes with some detail the way in which ' Babylon was taken the second time ' (iii. 159), *i.e.* by Darius. It is unlikely that, if the tradition which he followed had erroneously blended the events of the two conquests, he would have found and recorded so clearly distinguished accounts of both. The inscriptions describe Bel-shazzar (Bil-sarra-utsur) as the son of Nabonidos. They suggest that he was associated with him in rule. They state that ' two pretenders to the Babylonian throne who arose in the reign of Darius called themselves " Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabonidos " ' (pp. 526-7). There is no reason why Nabonidos should not have married a daughter of Nebuchadrezzar, and their son Belshazzar be therefore called the son, *i.e.* grandson, of Nebuchadrezzar. If Belshazzar was associated in rule with his father Nabonidos, Belshazzar may have been slain as stated in the Book of Daniel, while Nabonidos ' was captured after being bound ' as the inscriptions record. If ' Darius the Mede ' was either the Cyaxares II. of Xenophon or the general Gobryas, there is no difficulty in his having reigned in Babylon as a subordinate ruler to Cyrus ; and, on the latter identification, there are significant parallels between the inscriptions and the sixth chapter of Daniel. Putting all other but critical and archaeological reasons aside, it is far more probable that the gaps in the history should be filled up in some such way as we have suggested, and the historical credibility of the Book of Daniel and of the Greek historians, as well as of the inscriptions, maintained, than that the inscriptions alone should speak the truth, and that the writer of the Book of Daniel and the Greek historians alike were most seriously deceived. There is much that is valuable on this point in



article leads us to regard as most dangerous to the faith the opinion which Professor Sayce here advocates.<sup>1</sup>

We are bound, too, to make a protest against the publication of this book by the Tract Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. We understand that at any rate one influential member of the Society, himself a writer of acknowledged eminence and power, made a private protest at the time of the issue of the work.<sup>2</sup> We could wish that his attitude had been that of the committee which is responsible for the publication. We do not wish to be misunderstood. We think the greater part of *The 'Higher Criticism' and the Verdict of the Monuments* valuable. All that Professor Sayce writes must be received with attention. If he is convinced of the truth of his opinions on several points in which we disagree with him, including the date of the Book of Daniel, it is of course right that he should publish and defend what he believes. *But the Society in question ought not to have been the publishers.* It is true that the Tract Committee have prefixed a preface in which they say that 'they do not commit the Society to an agreement with all the opinions expressed in' 'this work' (p. ix), and have placed a note at the beginning of chapter xi. stating that 'some of Professor Sayce's views on the Book of Daniel are not shared by other authorities' (p. 497). Such disclaimers, it is well to point out, are very little to the purpose. The general public looks upon the works issued by the Society as having a certain *imprimatur* of orthodoxy. Persons who are ignorant both of theology and of criticism buy them with a feeling that

Canon Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Essay viii. on Book i. §§ 22-27; Professor Fuller's 'Excursus to Daniel V.' in *The Speaker's Commentary*, Old Testament, vi. 305-314; Professor Fuller's articles in *The Expositor* (series 3, i. 217-225, 431-438, ii. 437-447) on 'The Book of Daniel in the Light of Recent Research and Discovery'; and Mr. Pinches' articles on 'Belshazzar' and 'Darius the Mede' in the new edition of the *Dictionary of the Bible*, i. 389, 390, 716. In rejecting Professor Sayce's theory on the grounds we have very briefly indicated, we may say that we have not met with any adequate reasons for doubting the soundness of the position maintained by Bishop Westcott in his article on 'The Book of Daniel' in the *Dictionary of the Bible* (which is, we are glad to see, retained, with some additions, in the new edition) or of the essential features of Dr. Pusey's *Daniel the Prophet*, though possibly the details of some particular critical positions in the latter book may rightly be questioned.

<sup>1</sup> Compare also, e.g., the denial of the accuracy of some parts of the history of the Exodus (e.g. p. 257), of the history of Sisera (p. 309), and the view that 'we' 'have in the Books of the Chronicles the first beginnings of that transformation of history into Haggadah which is so conspicuous in later Jewish literature' (p. 465).

<sup>2</sup> See an article by Dr. Wace in *The Record* of April 20, 1894, p. 375.

they are safe guides; they are not infrequently chosen for presents for young people as being unlikely to exercise a harmful influence of any kind. It is a false step, which many supporters of the Society will deeply regret, that this work should have been published by it.

The verification of the history contained in the Old Testament by the discoveries of recent years is one of the most remarkable features of the investigations of our time. We have not yet reached the point when it is possible to take a just view of the whole of the evidence. In all the branches of Old Testament study the present need is patient observation, the noting and compilation of facts. The closest study of the varieties of language and the details of history, the classification of evidence from every quarter which bears on the questions at issue, if properly conducted, can in the end lead only to fuller knowledge of the truth. What we are suffering from is the haste with which conclusions have been formed. It will take time to undo the harm which has been done by brilliant theories and clever books. But we are confident that if only Christian students will be patient, they will be able to build up on secure ground a solid critical treatment of the Books of the Old Testament. There are many old positions which may need to be reconsidered; there are many old interpretations which may have to be abandoned. We have seen no sufficient reason for supposing that sound criticism will ever demand the denial of the historical truth either of the Old Testament or of the New Testament. We have stated what we believe to be, not an imagined theory of Inspiration, but the belief to not less than which the Church is committed. On that belief we are content to take our stand in the confidence that when the controversy is over the historical credibility of the Bible will not have been shaken.

NOTE.—Since the above article was written, a very important *Declaration on the Inspiration of Holy Scripture* has been published by Messrs. James Parker and Co., Oxford, which is printed in *extenso* in *The Guardian* of June 13, 1894. It is signed by eighteen names, which include those of Dr. Bright and Canon Carter.<sup>1</sup> The *Declaration* is evidently intended to re-assert the authority of Holy Scripture against

<sup>1</sup> It is stated in the *Guardian* of June 27 that the names of Father Benson and Canon MacColl, which 'were not received until after the publication of the Declaration,' 'owing to absence from England and other causes,' 'should be appended to the list of those who signed' it.

the widely spread impression, produced by the publication, however well-intentioned, of *Lux Mundi* and other works, that the Bible has been 'given up' by Catholic Churchmen. It refers to 'the distress and disturbance of mind which have been widely felt among Church people generally, and in particular by many theological students, in consequence of the unsettling effect of recent discussions on matters connected with the criticism of the Bible,' and asserts in emphatic language the 'special action of the Holy Ghost' in Inspiration, and the protection which it affords from 'all defects injurious to' the 'Divine purposes' of 'the books included in the Canon of Scripture' (§ 1). The 'frequent reference made by our Lord to the Old Testament' is said to be 'decisive in favour of its Inspiration' (§ 4); 'all' His 'words' are declared to have been 'always the most perfect words for His purpose' (§ 5); it is stated to be a consequence of His 'Human Mind' being 'inseparably united to the Eternal Word,' and being 'perfectly illuminated by the Holy Spirit in the discharge of His office as Teacher,' that 'He could not be deceived, nor be the source of deception, nor intend to teach, even incidentally, for fact what was not fact' (§ 6). The 'special action of the Holy Ghost' in 'Inspiration' is said to vary 'in character and in degree of intensity' (§ 1), and it is 'the Bible taken as a whole' which is said to possess 'conclusive authority in matters pertaining to truth and morals' (§ 7).

We believe that the evidently carefully considered language of this *Declaration* will be welcomed by those who accept the position about the Old Testament and the authority of our Lord for which this *Review* has contended throughout the whole controversy, while the extreme caution with which the *Theses* are expressed make it suitable to be of an eirenic character for those who, agreeing on certain main principles, are on some points of detail divided. It says nothing about such questions as the possibility of minute errors and discrepancies in the inspired writings. It condemns only by inference some opinions to which the signatories are obviously opposed. While it is plainly contradictory of such teaching on the subject of the Incarnation as is contained in certain passages in *The Bampton Lectures for 1891*, it leaves open some of the more difficult questions on the relation of the human mind of our Lord to His Divine knowledge.

The phrase 'varying in character and degree of intensity,' to which, perhaps, some acute theologians might be inclined to take exception, appears to refer to the difference which

may be regarded as existing between, *e.g.*, the express revelation of truth to Isaiah and the supernatural guidance by which, *e.g.*, the historical accounts in the Chronicles were compiled.

It may be hoped that this *Declaration* will be of service in promoting a reverent use of the Bible, and in helping to restore a proper idea of its authority among Church people. We may be allowed to add that it seems to us a very strange interpretation of such a document to say that because it does not go out of its way to speak expressly of the 'higher criticism' it therefore concedes all that the dominant school of 'higher critics' demand. There is a great deal of difference between abstaining from introducing particular controversial matter in a statement of the truth, the aim of which is to reaffirm the general authority of the Bible and the teaching of our Lord, and conceding the lawfulness of a position that has been taken up in the controversy.

#### ART. II.—THE PROPOSED EPISCOPATE FOR SPANISH PROTESTANTS.

1. *The Irish Bishops and Church Reform in Spain and Portugal.* A Record of the Action taken by the Irish Episcopate at their Meeting of February 20, 1894. With Preface and Appendix. By the Most Rev. LORD PLUNKET, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. (Dublin, 1894.)
2. *Señor Cabrera and the Reformed Spanish Church.* A Reply to Three Letters from the Rev. William Moore. By the Most Rev. LORD PLUNKET, Bishop of Meath. (Dublin, 1883.)
3. *Señor Cabrera and the Spanish Reformed Church.* A Review of the Most Rev. Lord Plunket's Pamphlet. By WILLIAM MOORE, M.A., Minister of the Presbyterian Church, Gloucester Street, Dublin. (Dublin, 1883.)
4. *Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion Holden at Lambeth Palace, July 1878.* Letter from the Bishops. (London, 1878.)
5. *Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion Holden at Lambeth, July 1888.* (London, 1888.)
6. *Liturgia Mozarabica secundum regulam Beati Isidori, in duos tomos divisa, quorum prior continet Missale Mixtum: posterior Breviarium Gothicum.* (Paris. ap. J. P. Migne, 1862.)
7. *Oficios Divinos y Administracion de los Sacramentos y otras Ordenanzas en la Iglesia Española.* (Madrid, 1881.)

8. *Divine Offices and other Formularies of the Reformed Episcopal Churches of Spain and Portugal.* Translated in a condensed form by H. STEWART CLOUGH and T. GODFREY P. POPE, B.A.; with Introduction by the Most Rev. LORD PLUNKET, D.D., Bishop of Meath. (London, 1882.)
9. *Oficios Divinos y Administracion de los Sacramentos y otros Ritos en la Iglesia Española Reformada.* (Madrid, 1889.)
10. The same in English; with an Introduction by the Most Rev. LORD PLUNKET, Archbishop of Dublin. (Dublin and London, 1889.)
11. *Practical Working of the Church in Spain.* By the Rev. FREDRICK MEYRICK, M.A. (Oxford, 1851.)
12. *The Church in Spain* ('National Churches' Series). By the Rev. Prebendary MEYRICK. (London, 1892.)

IN treating the burning question to which this list of works relates we are aware that we cannot hope to do good without carefully avoiding strong expressions of feeling. We desire, therefore, to offer our statements and our comments as calmly as we can, without at the same time pretending to conceal our own judgment, which is that of strong opposition to the course which the Archbishop of Dublin proposes to take by consecrating bishops for the reformers of Spain and Portugal.

In the outset we especially desire to disclaim any feeling towards the Archbishop himself inconsistent with great personal respect. We are aware that he bears the highest character, and is capable of any sacrifice of ease or interest for the sake of what he believes to be right. We know also that he has shown himself very capable of largeness of mind in more than one direction, and that if it were a question of extending the sympathy of the Church towards reformers of a less Protestant character than the Spaniards Archbishop Plunket would be one of the last to object. His conduct towards the Old Catholics has given sufficient proof of this. His tendency is not towards over-restriction, but over-expansion. But we shall not be giving him a character which he would refuse when we say that while his charity towards High Churchmen is due to his kindly feeling as an honourable gentleman and a genuine Christian, his charity to Protestants is due to sympathy in doctrine and opinion. We need not expect agreement from him when we confess that, while differing very strongly from the Church of Rome, we recognize in her many good things which Protestantism wants,

and refuse to regard her as beyond the pale of sympathy. We are wholly disinclined to assume that the errors of Protestants must of necessity be slighter than hers, or to identify Anglicanism with the Protestant position.

The attitude of the Anglican Churches towards the Church of Rome in the countries where she prevails is a most important subject, and in many points remains undetermined; no individual bishop has a right to determine it for himself. The Anglican Churches have ever protested against the action of the Pope not merely for its errors, but for its infringement of primitive order; and it cannot be considered a thing of course that they should imitate him in it. They have never asserted that a national Church by retaining its communion with Rome deprived itself of its national and Catholic rights, or left its fences open for any one to infringe without renouncing all regard to Church order. The distinction between the Church of Rome and a national Church in communion with Rome is not to be ignored, and it is, as the testimony of the best observers show, of special importance in Spain. 'Spain,' says Borrow,<sup>1</sup> 'is not a fanatic country. Love of Rome had ever slight influence on her policy;' but the defence of Romanism fell in with the 'fatal pride' of the monarchs and the nation. Anybody, whether on the side of Rome or her opponents, who should suppose Romanism to be an object of love apart from its nationalism would be making as great a mistake in the case of Spain as if he made a similar confusion in the case of Ireland; and nothing more emphatic can be said than that, as all who know Ireland will admit. The peasant quoted by Borrow expressed the true Spanish feeling when he said, 'The water of my village is better than the wine of Rome.' And, therefore, although the Pope is as much offended and the rule of episcopal order as much infringed by the consecration of a bishop of Gibraltar to attend to the Anglican congregations in Spain and other countries on the Mediterranean as when a Spanish bishop is intruded to rule Spaniards, there is in point of practice no similarity at all between the two cases.

It is very usual to treat objections to ecclesiastical intrusion as if they were extreme applications of legal formality. Nothing of the kind. The maintenance of Church law is indeed no small matter, especially for those who hold Church office. But what we desire to regard is the religion of the people, for whom the difference is immense between, on the one hand, enlightenment received without a violent breach of continuity

<sup>1</sup> *The Bible in Spain*, preface.



in their faith, and, on the other, the call to join a body hostile to the traditions of their fathers and the education of their childhood.

There must be no misunderstanding as to the strongly controversial character which belongs to the Spanish Reformed Church. It does not consist of souls driven unwillingly from their moorings in the national Church, whom we are to take up because we find them derelict, leaving the rest to content themselves if they can. The Archbishop himself informs us that every member of the Reformed Churches 'is taught to regard himself as a missionary.'<sup>1</sup> What should his mission be except to induce others to make the change which he has made? For our part we are not in favour of cataclysmal changes in religion. It is a thing of fearful danger to sever connexion with one's past religion unless it was wholly heathenish and corrupt. Our Lord and His Apostles were careful in teaching Jews to place Christian doctrine in connexion rather than in opposition with their existing faith. And in the case of Roman Catholics the difference between controversial proselytism and the attempt to add light without suggesting the abandonment of their Church is perfectly well known in Ireland. The latter course is that professed by the Irish Society, which takes its name from its plan of spreading among Irish-speaking people the knowledge and use of the Bible in their own language. And so far is this society from indiscriminately urging the abandonment of the Roman Catholic communion that we believe we are right in stating that it did not even decline to make use of Roman Catholic agents in the days when they could be had. But the Irish Church Mission takes a different line. Its tone is hostile and controversial in the highest degree; and neither its methods nor its results obtain approval from the general body of the members of the Church of Ireland. The Archbishop of Dublin, however, has long been linked by circumstances to the controversial society in Ireland. It is, perhaps, natural he should be disposed to carry its way of working into other countries as well as his own, and set up a rival Church instead of merely attempting to enlighten the members of the old one.

And the Church of Spain has so bad a reputation that drastic methods might be supposed requisite in her case which would be unwarranted in other branches even of the Roman Communion. Nothing more severe has been said by

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to the Spanish Prayer Book, 1889, p. xxvii.

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any one of the Church of Spain than by Dr. Neale, who ascribes to it

'a clergy impoverished but not holy; a middle class, when not utterly careless, utterly infidel; a peasantry with all the seeds of faith yet strong in their hearts, but finding no other supply for it than the wildest excesses of Mariolatry.'<sup>1</sup>

And Mr. Rose<sup>2</sup> declares that

'the case of the educated Spanish gentry, and especially of professional men, tradesmen, and literary men, and artisans, the state of all who travel, read, or think, is exactly analogous to that of the natives of India described by Cheshub Chunder Sen as "going about having cast off their first faith, seeking some faith wherewith to stay their soul."'

In a sad and striking volume<sup>3</sup> Prebendary Meyrick, forty years ago, described the disappointment and disillusion caused by personal experience of the work of the Spanish Church.

Yet none of these authors suggested the establishment of a new Church of Spain. Borrow renounces all attempts to proselytize. Mr. Rose says—

'Not for one moment does the writer intend to imply that the branch of the Catholic Church established in Spain, which has given to its sons and daughters a duly ordained ministry and Christian rites and religious instruction, and in whose sublime churches the thousands of the faithful have made their hearts' desire known to God, and still make it known, is not one in which men may find all things necessary to salvation.'

The Church of Spain had its Reformation under Ximenes—a stern and severe one, which riveted its chains upon the people, but purified its moral condition for the time. It was preferred by Charles V. to Luther's revolutionary methods.<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Meyrick's practical conclusion from the state of the Spanish Church was in old days simply this: that we are not to be discontented with the defects of our own.

'If Italy and Spain have a scandal A which we have not, and we have a scandal B which they have not, we are acting the part of children or self-deceivers if we turn all our eyes upon B and put A out of the range of our vision.'<sup>5</sup>

Extremely just reasoning, but which may with equal justice

<sup>1</sup> *Essays on Liturgiology and Church History*, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> *Untrodden Spain*, vol. i.

<sup>3</sup> *The Practical Working of the Church of Spain*, by the Rev. F. Meyrick (Oxford, 1851), p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> Bishop Creighton, *Hist. of the Papacy*, vol. v. p. 144.

<sup>5</sup> Meyrick, *Practical Working*, &c., preface.

be reversed. And the same author apparently does not consider another moral reformation of the Church of Spain impossible; for he concludes his recent history of that Church as follows: 'Whether through the working of the Spirit of God the dominant Church may at last rise to its responsibilities has yet to be seen. Some indications point in that direction.'<sup>1</sup>

And if these indications of revival which Mr. Meyrick discerns should prove trustworthy, and the Spanish Church should make an attempt, even though imperfect, to rise to its responsibilities, should we have any great reason to congratulate ourselves for planting a rival Church to hamper her movements and withdraw from her allegiance those best fitted to forward her reform? For our part we find great difficulty in believing that the Church of St. Theresa and of the Spanish Mystics and of Ignatius Loyola, devoted souls surely, though much in error, has utterly lost the power of revival. Even still the Romanism of the Continent has traditional habits of devotion which we find it hard to teach our own people. Continental Protestantism certainly has not discovered them, and we must not blame it too severely for the failure. The mental effort of shaking off inherited traditions of immemorial date and of withstanding the whole social power of one's surroundings must turn the spirit from devotion to controversy. It is impossible for any thoughtful person to believe that Protestantism will be a system of unmixed benefit in religion to Spain any more than it has been anywhere else; and it will certainly be unable to restore those qualities of the Spanish character and that national success among the rivalries of Europe the downfall of which must have its large share in the loss of faith and hope among the people.

There is enough in these reflections to give a stranger pause before he determines to interfere for the purpose of setting up a revolutionary government in the spiritual affairs of Spain. Yet we perfectly acknowledge that revolution has been forced upon many minds among the Continental Churches by the usurpations of Rome. And so much recognition of the justice of their revolt has been rightly given by the Lambeth Conference, both in 1878 and 1888, that no one can assert non-intervention to be the established policy of the Church of England. We can but say that our own dispositions and convictions would lead us earnestly to befriend those who are suffering for their faith, yet at the same time to content ourselves with helping to spread religious light and the knowledge of the Bible, rather than disruption, in a Church whose claim to

<sup>1</sup> Meyrick, *Hist. of the Church of Spain*, p. 415.

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be the Church of the land is undoubted. We have no right to complain if others go further, but we have a right to expect that no prelate of an Anglican communion shall urge his powers beyond their legal scope, or of his own will involve the Church of which his high office makes him a representative in actions of doubtful catholicity to many of its members, and which may end in disappointment and discredit not only to him but to the Church.

The leader of this movement and the bishop elect of the Spanish Reformed Church is Señor Cabrera, a Spanish priest. We have no reason to question the validity of his orders, nor shall we pay the Archbishop of Dublin and the two prelates who have promised to assist him in the consecration so bad a compliment as to suppose that in the matter of founding a new Church they, or any of them individually, will omit any strictness of documentary proof which they are obliged by law to use in conferring the least important orders at home. If ever there was a case in which laying on of hands suddenly would justly make prelates partakers of other men's sins, it would be one in which they stretch themselves beyond their measure and appoint outposts in a foreign country to bear the credit of the Anglican communion without any of the restraints of Anglican influence. In one quarter Señor Cabrera will have no good report from them that are without. For ten years after his departure from the Roman Church he connected himself with the Presbyterian; and the allegation of Presbyterians of the best credit and the most intimate personal knowledge of the facts is that monetary reasons had far too much to do with his abandonment of their service. In reviewing the transaction the Archbishop disclaims the assertion that Señor Cabrera was

'from first to last, in the strict sense of the word, an Episcopalian who nevertheless for many long years stifled his deep-rooted convictions and professed himself a Presbyterian, until at last an opportunity presented itself for declaring himself in his true colours.'<sup>1</sup>

And the account which he accepts is this :

'that during this period Señor Cabrera was neither a Presbyterian nor an Episcopalian of the above strict type. Do we not rather see in him a man who, after leaving the Church of Rome, passed through more than one phase of thought and feeling as respects these two systems of Church government; a man too who at no time deemed either system an essential of Church life?'<sup>2</sup>

And he admits that his dissatisfaction with the machinery

<sup>1</sup> *Señor Cabrera and the Reformed Spanish Church*, p. 7.

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

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with which he had been connected was due 'not so much to its Presbyterian character as to the foreign element by which it became unduly influenced.'

We have no manner of doubt that this is, on the whole, the correct view of the bishop elect's principles and motives during the period referred to. At the same time we must confess that Mr. Moore in his reply appears to us to have proved a more pronounced and deliberate adoption of Presbyterian doctrine and government on the part of Señor Cabrera than his Grace had been led to believe in, and likewise an exceedingly disagreeable connexion between the monetary and ecclesiastical aspects of his conduct. It can never be forgotten to the occupant of so high a place that he wrote to a Presbyterian organization stating that if they were unable to provide him with 300*l.* a year he must look out for another society.<sup>1</sup> And another undeniable characteristic of Señor Cabrera's communications during the days of his Presbyterian connexion is his extreme sense of the need that a reformed Spanish Church should be thoroughly national. The agent of a London Society having reported unfavourably of the Spanish Episcopal Church, Señor Cabrera chose (though without reason) to take the criticism as directed against the nationality of its members and agents, and he writes—

'The elements of which the Spanish Church is composed are Spaniards ; therefore, in the opinion of Mr. Ashton, this is sufficient to prevent the success of our work. Know now, Spaniards, that unless you are instructed, led, and governed by some foreigner you cannot be Christians with a living Christianity. . . . Formerly we looked to Rome ; now we shall have to look to some other foreign source, as if the living and glorious Christ could not shed His grace and bestow His salvation upon you except through the intervention of some one who was not a Spaniard.'

We are aware that this national pride, right and reasonable as it is, may be taken as satisfied by the Spanish *personnel* of the new Church in spite of the pecuniary aid which it derives from abroad. Even in this view it must be observed that the most important founders of the Spanish Church must be the three Irish prelates who are to consecrate her bishop and to exercise for a certain time a controlling authority over her counsels. But in the Lusitanian Church the foreign taint goes far deeper ; for the divine whose name is alone known as the leader of the movement, and (presumably) the future bishop, is actually an Irishman and a British subject, the Rev. Godfrey Pope. Even as to Spain we must consider

<sup>1</sup> *Señor Cabrera and the Reformed Spanish Church*, p. 11.

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that the Spaniards are strangely constituted if they reserve their jealousy for foreigners at work in their country, and have none to expend upon natives supported and directed by the foreigner. Many would suppose that the latter case would be to the proud Spaniard the more objectionable of the two. Yet the author of the above patriotic words has submitted to conditions which must stamp his Church for all time to come as one of foreign origin.

To be sure, if the conversion of a Spanish bishop, which he once anticipated, has proved impossible, consecration had to be obtained from abroad. But consecration from abroad, if come it must, might come in very different guises. Were it obtained from the Jansenist or Old Catholic bishops, it would be plain that they were merely resorted to for the supply of the want. No one would ever think of tracing the establishment of the episcopate to their action, or of ascribing the form of the Church's doctrine to their prescription, or to the desire of the Spanish reformers to please them. But it is a very different matter when the consecration is obtained from an Anglican Church, and that with such accompaniments as are now proposed. England and the English Church are conspicuous objects in the eyes of Spaniards; they are strong enough to be worthy of the jealousy, and often hatred, with which they have been visited in Spain, both when she was our enemy and when she was our ally; while in Portugal collision with us has been so frequent and so galling that we should suppose the British connexion to be a presage of failure to any Church involved with it, even though calling itself the Church of Lusitania, and especially if it commenced its course with a British subject for its first bishop.

On the other hand, the contributors from England and Ireland who have so efficiently helped the Spanish reformers might have given their aid in a manner which would have spared the susceptibilities of a proud people far more than has been the case. The sums gathered in this country might have been handed over to the Spaniards for use at their discretion among the manifold branches of their operations, so that no part of the work should have been labelled with the obnoxious title of foreign. But the Archbishop of Dublin is an experienced gatherer, as well as a most munificent giver of money; and he knows what an impetus is lent to a collection by naming some one definite object which it is intended to complete, and which ever after shall be linked with the remembrance of the generous donors. Accordingly the erection of the church of the reformed body in Madrid was

aimed at, and was completed by contributions from the Church of Ireland. And it is made a condition of executing the intention which his Grace has made public of going to Spain with his assistant prelates to consecrate bishops for that country and Portugal that an endowment fund of 5,000*l.* shall be guaranteed and gathered by friends at home, to accumulate at compound interest until 10,000*l.* be secured and invested for the purpose; till which time the Spanish and Portuguese Aid Society at home shall make a payment of 300*l.* per annum to each bishop the first charge upon their funds. One-fifth of this endowment fund has been promised by the reformers in Spain; the rest remains to be provided from England and Ireland. And the Reformed Spanish Church will have the reputation with its countrymen of a cathedral built and an episcopate endowed as well as created by the stranger.

To complete the Anglicizing of the Reformed Church of Spain our Thirty-nine Articles have ('with trifling variations,' as the Archbishop words it) been adopted as a declaration of doctrine. We are far from depreciating the Thirty-nine Articles, of which, on the contrary, we hold a high opinion; but they belong to the period of their production, 'coloured,' as the Lambeth Conference says,<sup>1</sup> 'in language and form by the peculiar circumstances under which they were drawn up,' and therefore not to be imposed as conditions of communion. The controversy with Rome has greatly changed its character since they were propounded, and the more important war with scepticism can scarcely be said to have had then any existence. A Church which now adopts them as its standard is simply not in touch with the subjects of the day. The declaration of doctrine which such a body as the Spanish reformers required in addition to its creeds and prayer book should have been very short, but adapted to the age and the circumstances of its position towards Roman developments and Protestant excesses. And few will disagree with us in thinking that a leading recommendation of the Thirty-nine Articles to the Spaniards must have been that which the Archbishop describes<sup>2</sup> as 'the special merit of being authorized by those branches of the Catholic Church whose confidence and fellowship they were most anxious to secure.' But the Lambeth Conference did not consider it any title to confidence or fellowship, and the special merit seems to us a defect in a body in-

<sup>1</sup> Encyclical of 1888, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Preface to the translation of the Spanish Prayer Book, 1889, p. xix.



tended to preserve its nationality with the jealous care which Señor Cabrera formerly desired.

On the whole it seems to us that it would hardly have been possible to mark the foreign connexions of the Spanish reformed communion more ostentatiously than has been done. We have learnt from the Archbishop that Señor Cabrera values episcopacy not as an essential of Church life, but as best adapted to recommend his Church to the Spanish mind; we shall venture to say that for that purpose he would have done better to surrender episcopacy than to receive it with a display of foreign accompaniments not at all exceeded by those which the Italian mission brought with it to our shores when it established its episcopate among us some forty years ago. We know that the Archbishop of Dublin does not himself consider episcopacy to be necessary for valid orders; his address at the last Church Congress made this plain, with characteristic courage and frankness. And those who entertain constitutional objections to the Spanish consecrations would seem to have good reason to complain that their Church and they themselves should be compromised for an object which neither of the parties concerned in effecting it deems vital.

The mention of the Thirty-nine Articles leads us naturally to the Prayer Book of the Spanish reformers. We should be considered to be doing them unfairness by accusing them of a want of national spirit while passing over that portion of their formularies in which such a spirit is believed to be especially displayed. We do not at all deny the merit of the various extracts from the Mozarabic rite which adorn the book and add a variety and adaptation to the seasons which we miss in our own Prayer Book; but we cannot say that we think these revivals have any effect in imparting a national colour to the new book. The Mozarabic offices vanished from use eight hundred years ago. They cannot at any time have been known to the people. They fill 2,440 of Migne's closely printed columns—too voluminous for a people's prayer book. If they had been remembered with regret either by clergy or people, it is highly probable that Cardinal Ximenes, who at the end of the fifteenth century re-edited and reprinted them, would have given them a wider use than he did. Rome, under the secular popes of that worldly time, cared little for liturgical supremacy or the suppression of national rites, and Spanish authorities cared little for the popes. The rite was not revived because it was not desired or adapted for use. Yet it is a grand storehouse

of devotion, from which such devotional scholars as Canon Bright and the compiler of *The Priest to the Altar* have revived many exquisite prayers.

The extracts which Señor Cabrera inserts, chiefly taken from the collection made in America by Dean Hale, cannot be said to represent the ancient forms with any sort of completeness. The Mozarabic portions of the Spanish Morning Prayer which could be said at any one season (we select Advent) amount to eighty lines and portions of lines. But the elements from other sources are of vastly greater extent. The reading of the Ten Commandments at the opening of the service is extremely novel, and we do not admire it. In our Communion office it assumes the place of an examination of conscience preparatory to the Sacrament; but it is out of place in the Morning Prayer. The Confession in the same office is from the Swiss; and even the magnificent tones of the Spanish language do not impart to it hearty earnestness of sorrow for individual sins so much as a doctrinal statement of sinfulness original and actual. And the Absolution (if so we may call it; for it is not thus called in the book) is so entirely without claim of authority that it is hard to see why it should be reserved for the bishop if he be present, while the phrase 'clothe you with the spotless robe of the righteousness of Christ' is dangerously applicable to the doctrine of imputed righteousness. When there is a sermon the minister 'shall offer a short prayer.' But who shall define shortness in extempore prayers? The form written by Señor Cabrera for use before sermon at Thanksgivings fills fifty full lines—a poor example of shortness. After sermon the preacher shall offer some portions of a prayer from the pen of Señor Cabrera, which fills 154 lines of the book, and which in devotional style resembles more the 'wordy effusions which exist in John Knox's Book of Common Order'<sup>1</sup> than the exquisite terseness of our Book of Common Prayer. The perusal of the Spanish book fills an Anglican Churchman with the deepest reverence for the genius of Archbishop Cranmer as a liturgical writer, framer, and translator. The ancient portion of the Spanish book, beautiful as it is, and grandly as it reads in a language even more devotional than our own, is associated with so many uncongenial elements that it loses its liturgical character. There will be a contest between the ancient and prescribed portions and the modern and extemporaneous, and it seems to us very doubtful whether it will not come to pass, as it did in the

<sup>1</sup> Canon Bright, *Ancient Collects*, p. 199.

Presbyterian Church of Scotland, that the elder shall serve the younger, and the extempore parts assume a much larger place in the service than the prescribed.

The Spanish book returns without doubt to ancient usage in placing the sacrificial prayer, which our book now says after reception, in a position between the consecration and the communion. It must never be forgotten, however, that the position in which this prayer stands with us does not in the least imply a suppression of the sacrificial idea, but only an inclusion of communion along with the other elements in the sacrifice. Any one who will ask himself whether the eating of the peace offering under the old law was or was not a part of the sacrifice will know how much may be said for this inclusion. But no doubt Señor Cabrera has here ancient usage on his side.

And it will, we suppose, be generally held that the same praise is to be awarded him for placing, after the words of Institution and manual acts, an invocation to 'bless and sanctify to our use, with Thy Word and Holy Spirit, these Thy gifts and creatures of Bread and Wine.' This is the order of the American Office, and of the Scotch as it was re-edited in the eighteenth century. But the combined influence of the Roman and Anglican form obliges us to consider the words of Institution and manual acts as constituting the consecration; and it is certainly a great anomaly that, after this, a prayer should be made to God to bless and sanctify the elements. For our part we feel great doubt whether this arrangement can be said to represent the Invocations of the Eastern Liturgies, which constituted or completed the consecration, while the words of Institution seem to have been read rather as an authority or precedent for the consecration than as the consecration itself. And this was the view taken in the English book of 1549 and in Laud's, when they placed the Invocation before the words of Institution. A passage in the Liturgy of St. James seems to show that the Early Church conceived the consecration of the first Eucharist by our Lord to have been made by the 'blessing' which St. Matthew and St. Mark expressly record, and which must be supposed to be included in the 'giving thanks' recorded by St. Luke and St. Paul. Upon this followed, in the Gospel history, the words of Institution, which thus read simply and easily as referring to the already consecrated elements, instead of leaving the difficulty, which must always exist when they are used as the consecration, of telling whether the word 'This' designates the element as consecrated or as unconse-

crated. According to this view, the Invocation should transfer us to the moment when the Lord blessed the elements before breaking.

Señor Cabrera does not find the Invocation after the words of Institution in the Mozarabic Missal. That it ever was present there is an inference from the existence of an invocation in some of the variable prayers called post Pridie. According to the high authorities of Dr. Neale<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Hammond, the designation of these prayers as 'post Pridie,' while in the present liturgy the term 'Pridie' does not occur, proves that Cardinal Ximenes changed the whole form of consecration into the Roman; 'it was,' says Dr. Neale, 'the great blemish in Ximenes's books.' We dare not contradict scholars so versed in liturgies; but we do not see how the occurrence of Invocations in some of the 'post Pridie' prayers proves that they ever existed in the invariable form itself. The form which we actually find runs as follows: 'Adesto adesto Jesu bone pontifex in medio nostri sicut fuisti in medio discipulorum tuorum. Sanctifica hanc oblationem + ut sanctificata + sumamus per manum sancti angeli tui, sancte Domine et Redemptor eterne. Dominus noster Jesus Christus in qua nocte,' &c.<sup>2</sup> This corresponds very closely with our Prayer Book of 1549, and Laud's Scotch form of 1637, which, like the Eastern liturgies, presented the Invocation as the true consecration. The maintenance of this would have been the most powerful protest against Roman errors about consecration and the nature of the Presence; for it has been well shown<sup>3</sup> that one who holds Roman doctrine could with perfect consistency join in our present Liturgy, but could not do so where the use of 1549 or that of Laud was followed. These, however, are difficult and controverted points.<sup>4</sup> We desire merely to show that the Invocation placed where Señor Cabrera has set it has no certain warrant from the Mozarabic rite, and is of doubtful gain for those who have been taught to consider the words of Institution as constituting the consecration. It will be a difficult matter for the three Irish bishops to join in a service which follows the English rite, by using the manual acts with the words of Institution, yet afterwards introduces

<sup>1</sup> *Essays on Liturgiology*, p. 156; *Antient Liturgies*, p. xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Martene, *De Antiq. Eccl. Ritibus*, vol. i. p. 170 (Antwerp, 1763). Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, vol. i. Hammond, *Ant. Liturgies*, Oxford, 1878.

<sup>3</sup> See Bishop Russell, quoted by Bishop Thirlwall, *Charges*, 281 n.

<sup>4</sup> See Bishop Dowden on the Scotch Communion Office, Edinburgh, 1884.

a prayer which implies that neither by these words nor by the accompanying acts has the consecration been effected.

But we must pass on to a much more momentous subject—the doctrine of the Spanish Prayer Book. We cannot say which is the more trying—to be asked to reverence an episcopacy deprived of all Catholic association, or an ancient liturgy deprived of all primitive doctrine. Our own Common Prayer, without affecting the revival of disused terms, pays antiquity the tribute of taking all its best parts and all its doctrine from ancient sources. But the Spanish, while parading the obsolete terms Illations, Lauds, Supplications, and Benedictions, makes careful suppression of common words, such as Absolution, which might offend ultra-Protestant ears; and such names as Chrysostom must appear without the designation of Saint, which is reserved for apostles. Moreover the Archbishop does not deny a relaxation of definiteness and a lowering of tone in sacramental doctrine in the Spanish as compared with the Anglican book. Thus in the Preface a condemnation is pronounced upon those who kneel in Holy Communion as an act of adoration of a 'supposed presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the elements or with them,' a marked advance upon the wording of the Black Rubric, which only condemns adoration of a 'corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood.' Indeed, the terms of this Spanish anathema are absolutely inconsistent with the belief of any Real Presence external to the thoughts of the communicant. For if such Presence there be, how can It but be either in or with the elements, and how could It be alluded to as 'supposed' when It is real? In the baptismal service, where a good deal is taken from the English form, there is among other very marked changes a pointed omission of the declaration, 'This child is regenerate.' And in the ordination of presbyters the sentence, 'Receive the Holy Ghost,' is replaced by the form, 'God Almighty grant unto thee the gift of the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Presbyter in the Church of God now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands.'

The doctrinal change indicated by these alterations of our forms is the substitution of the 'obsignatory' use of sacramental signs for that of gifts actually given. Canon Mozley<sup>1</sup> shows how to Luther baptism assumes the character of a seal of assurance; that is to say, a way of emphatic preaching of the certainty of God's love and of His gifts to the soul. While Luther considered this assurance of the Fatherhood of God to

<sup>1</sup> See Mozley, *Baptismal Controversy*, p. 287.

the faithful mind to be the nature of baptism, the doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's Body extended among his followers the same notion to Holy Communion, and made it, too, only a way of assuring the mind of the Christian of a universal truth, and enabling him to enjoy it; and so all sacramental gifts are uniformly considered as signs to the mind which has faith to receive them, and signs, not of special gifts given with them and by them, but of God's general dispositions and graces towards His children. This idea is still more strong in Calvinism. It is not the doctrine of the Anglican Church, as it was not that of the primitive Church, but it is exactly expressed by a prayer of the Spanish book in the service for the baptism of infants:

'O most merciful Father, who hast not left us strangers from the covenants of promise, but hast called us to be partakers of the innumerable benefits which Thou hast vouchsafed unto Thy children; and who for our great and endless comfort art pleased in Thy appointed sacraments to certify us as by a seal of this Thy gracious goodness toward us; we yield Thee hearty thanks, and humbly pray that through these pledges of Thy love, and by the power of the Holy Ghost, Thou wilt increase in us the knowledge of Thy grace and strengthen our faith in Thee.'

It is unnecessary that we should add anything to this comprehensive statement of sacramental doctrine made in the most solemn manner. There is not, so far as we are aware, anything in the whole book to balance this declaration. There is no Catechism; only a rubric before the Confirmation Service, directing the minister to instruct his candidates in the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, and in the other fundamental truths of the Gospel; therefore, of course, there is no such doctrine laid down in the book as that there are two parts in every sacrament, the outward visible sign and the inward spiritual grace. The teaching upon the sacraments which the Spanish book contains has by some been called heretical. We are extremely unwilling to use terms of condemnation unsanctioned by an act of the Church, while complaining of others for exceeding the authority which the Church has given them. But we will state with confidence that the condition both of continental and of native Protestantism shows by many examples how readily inadequate conceptions of the spiritual grace of the sacraments may lead to Arianism or Socinianism. The line of descent is obvious. The same desire to restrict the action of God to the region of the mind prevails in the whole method of regarding Christianity as in the Sacraments. It becomes



too much for man to believe in the Incarnation and Atonement as facts antecedent to faith, and the whole work of Christ becomes only a means of convincing men of truths and duties already existing.

The Archbishop of Dublin<sup>1</sup> uses a remarkable argument in favour of the omission of the Anglican statements of doctrine to which we are now referring. He says that 'when we remember the dates at which these formulæ and observances find their way into the public services of the Latin and Anglican churches, we cannot with any show of probability suppose that they had place in the ancient Mozarabic rite of Spain;' and that, therefore, their omission is 'in harmony with the national traditions of the past.' The marked omission of phrases which had been used in documents from which one is borrowing is a very different matter indeed from failure to invent the phrases when they never have been heard of before; even if the omissions did not amount to such a deliberate and consistent change of front as we have shown them to imply. If his Grace really maintains that the doctrine of the ancient Spanish Church upon Baptism, the Holy Eucharist, and Orders, resembled that which the Spanish Prayer Book teaches with these formulæ purposely left out of it, we can only say that he takes a view of the leaning of ancient Christianity in which very few students of its records, and particularly of its Spanish records, will follow him.

Such, then, are the doctrines of the Reformed Church of Spain, so far as our limits enable us to treat them. We must add something upon the nature of the security which can be offered to the consecrating bishops that even this measure of Church order and doctrine will be permanently maintained. Ten years ago Mr. Moore stated, that 'of the few congregations over which Señor Cabrera presides, the majority are the fruits of Presbyterian missionary efforts.'<sup>2</sup> Even if we suppose that this is a large over-estimate, we cannot doubt that the statement is true of a considerable proportion of the converts; nor have the numbers of the Reformed Church increased so largely since that time as to alter seriously the importance of this element in its ranks. We can see many indications in the Prayer Book of the necessity which was felt of making concessions to the habits of people whose convictions and devotion had a Presbyterian origin. For instance, the large use of extempore prayer, the abstinence from imposing the attitude of kneeling and other such signs, are doubtless due to

<sup>1</sup> *Introduction to the Prayer Book*, 1889, p. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> *Señor Cabrera and the Spanish Reformed Church*, p. 6.

these influences rather than to the individual preferences of Señor Cabrera.

We strongly suspect that the absolute liberty given as to the position of the communicant in partaking of the Holy Communion<sup>1</sup> is designed to include a liberty of sitting to persons who have been taught by their Presbyterian guides to prefer that attitude. For though kneeling and standing be the only attitudes named, that does not prevent the use of the entire liberty given, in favour of the sitting posture, if in any congregation or by any individual it be desired; and Mr. Moore's estimate seems to make it extremely probable that such persons and even such congregations must exist. When John Knox and the council, in the last days of Edward VI., strove to erase from our Prayer Book the requirement of kneeling in the act of Communion and were resisted by Cranmer, it is certain that an alteration exactly conformed to the Spanish liturgy would have allowed them, and those with whom they agreed, all that they could possibly desire.

We should feel the utmost possible sympathy with Señor Cabrera in attempting to elevate the ritual and devotion of his people if we felt ourselves in greater agreement with himself. But we are now considering the value of pledges to retain the measure of church practice unimpaired. In this point of view it is but reasonable to remember that the Spanish reformers are not a conservative body, clinging to the past wherever that is possible, in the same spirit which marked our Reformation in so prevailing a degree. It is true that we also had an extreme party; but it was counterbalanced by conservative influences, of which we have little proof among the Spanish. The reform has been set on foot in a spirit of the strongest hostility to the Roman Church, and the difficulty which its leaders have to face is that of rebuilding so much as they themselves desire or as their people will accept of institutions which have been wholly rejected. Pledges from such a body must be precarious.

But while we conceive that Señor Cabrera has had to make concessions to Puritan habits among his followers, we do not in the least mean to imply that his influence among them is small. We are informed by the Archbishop in presenting the claim of the Spanish Protestants for assistance, that the great majority of the converts belong to the humbler classes. This is not the sort of persons who would resist Señor Cabrera in matters of liturgy or doctrine so long as their susceptibilities and habits were not interfered with. The number of persons

<sup>1</sup> *Prayer Book*, 1889, p. 5.

among the lower classes in Spain who can neither read nor write is appalling,<sup>1</sup> and the general average prevails, doubtless, more or less in the converts. The Archbishop considers 'the accession of the rich and mighty hopeless so long as these poor reformers can be pointed to with the finger of scorn as having been neglected and disappointed by those in whom above all they had placed their trust'—that is to say, so long as their Anglican friends do not supply them with a native bishop. His Grace by untiring devotion of trouble and money has taken good care that the finger of scorn shall not be pointed at the Spaniards for any neglect on his part, if it be not pointed at them for having accepted too much from him.

Again, the changes made in the Spanish Prayer Book of 1889 from that of 1882 show very well that Señor Cabrera has to do with a body which in matters of the kind yields easily to his influence. The very name of the Church was altered. The title of the earlier book was 'Oficios Divinos, &c., en la Iglesia Española.' The claim on the part of a couple of thousand people of the poorer classes, with a few presbyters at their head, to call itself the 'Church of Spain,' was apparently too much for its supporters in this country to approve, and the last edition claims only the title of 'Iglesia Española Reformada.' And the bulk of the book has grown from 335 pages to 696. It is true that alterations not less momentous were made in our Prayer Book in the still shorter space between 1549 and 1552; but that was done by the strong hand of power. The experience of the Irish Synod gives no likelihood to the supposition that so much change can be summarily made where a large body is fully represented and qualified to take an interest in the subject. This therefore goes to corroborate the opinion to which everything we have heard or seen of the movement has led us—that the reformed body consists mainly of humble persons not highly educated, with Señor Cabrera, seconded by a limited number of worthy clergymen, at its head.

Now, God forbid that we should despise this body for consisting in so large a degree of persons devoid of this world's wealth and wisdom. We renounce and abhor any such intention. But we say that a body of three thousand persons, chiefly of humble education and led by a few ecclesiastics whose Anglican connexions are foreign and unnatural to Spaniards, is a body unable and unfit to give pledges of any value as to the future of their Church. If the finger of scorn

<sup>1</sup> Twelve out of sixteen millions, according to Mr. Rose, *Untrodden Spain*, i. 233.

should cease to be pointed at them, and the Reformed Church of Spain, with its bishops, its cathedral well placed in Madrid, and its liturgy claiming to be based on the Mozarabic, should really become what it aims at—namely, national, self-supporting, numerous, and including all classes—we ask, what are the probabilities that it will remain unchanged? What authority would the Thirty-nine Articles or the rejected revisions of the Irish Synod possess for it? A few eloquent students fresh from the Protestant schools of Paris or Strasbourg would change the whole face of affairs. Nothing can be more likely—we had almost said more certain—than that the Anglican peculiarities, the signs of early poverty and dependence, would be removed, and the Anglican Church would find that the Archbishop had attached to her by a kind of left-handed alliance a community which brought her the utmost discredit, and with which she had no agreement, although all the Latin Churches ascribed its existence to her. Of course we know that in such matters risk must be run, but the risk ought not to be too great; and the whole body on whom the risk falls ought to have a voice in the question whether it shall be faced. No partner ought to involve his firm in a liability without the full consent of his associates.

And that brings us to the concluding, and, as we consider, by far the most important section of our task—the question whether the Archbishop of Dublin and the two bishops associated with him have the constitutional right to perform the act of consecrating bishops for Spain and Portugal, be the merits and prospects of the act what they may. The Archbishop of Dublin is firmly and conscientiously persuaded that a bishop possesses inherent in his office the right and the duty to perform episcopal functions, including consecration of other bishops, wherever his conscientious judgment tells him that such action is demanded by necessity, even though it be outside the limits of the diocese or the province to which he has received formal appointment.<sup>1</sup> This opinion is grounded upon a quotation from Bingham's *Antiquities* (book ii. cap. vi.), first used in this connexion by the bishops of the American Church, and which says that in ancient times wherever the Faith was in danger

'every pastor thought himself obliged to feed his Master's sheep according to his power, whatever part of the world they were scattered in. . . . Hence came that current notion so frequently to be met with in Cyprian, of but one bishopric in the Church, wherein every

<sup>1</sup> See *Reformation Movements in Foreign Church*, a paper read at the Church Congress, 1885, by the Most Rev. Lord Plunket, D.D., p. 10.

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single bishop had his share in the whole; *Episcopatus unus est cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.*<sup>1</sup>

Bingham's opinion is not expressed with clearness, for we cannot say whether he means that any bishop might act anywhere as representing the Catholic episcopate, or by a kind of universal jurisdiction belonging to himself. At all events he grounds the opinion on St. Cyprian. Now St. Cyprian did not think that any Bishop could claim the right to exercise episcopal powers irrespective of the law of the Church. In the very quotation which Bingham makes it is but 'pars' and not the whole of the episcopate that each bishop holds. And elsewhere he says that a bishop 'who does not keep to the unity and peace of the episcopate cannot retain either the honour or the power of a bishop.'<sup>1</sup> A bishop has not the power to exceed his assigned jurisdiction unless he be sent and commissioned for the purpose by the prelates of his province, who in their turn must be guided by the Catholic law laid down by national, and finally by general, councils. In case of necessity a bishop, if he have good reason so to do, may, at his own peril, presume the assent of the constitutional authority to which he is bound, but only as a presbyter might, in an emergency, baptise a child or give the Eucharist to a dying man in a parish other than his own. And, probably, Bingham means only to claim for bishops this power of acting on the presumption of the law, for such a supposition completely covers the various instances which he gives from the lives of St. Athanasius, Eusebius of Samosata, and St. Epiphanius, though the latter saintly personage stretched his privileges very far, and defended himself with very poor temper or reason. Even saints could stretch their powers and set very unsafe examples. But if Bingham could be supposed to mean that a bishop could give himself universal licence to act and be a law to himself, he has, we conceive, no warrant from St. Cyprian or other ancient authorities to support him; and his principle so understood would turn the Catholic Church into a maze of conflicting jurisdictions. And any right which a bishop may have to presume the assent of the law and exercise his power where necessity demands it, obviously fails him where there is ample opportunity to demand a mission from the legal authority, or where the legal authority has been asked to give a mission and has declined.

It is quite premature to consider what claims any others

<sup>1</sup> Ep. lii. ed. Baluze, p. 74.

may have over the place or the cause which a bishop desires to deal with, until it has been first determined whether he has, in any case, a call to deal with it. What secular judge would consider the particulars of any cause he was asked to try until it appeared that he had jurisdiction to try it? We may, therefore, defer the question of the rights of the bishops of Spain in their dioceses, until it is shown that the Archbishop of Dublin would have a right to consecrate bishops there were it a heathen country where no bishop had ever existed at all.

The Acts of the Apostles afford to the Church very clear evidence of the principles on which church extension should be conducted. In Acts viii. we find that the apostles at Jerusalem sent SS. Peter and John to Samaria. The function of confirmation which they performed there was entirely within their power, and they need not have been sent by any one to perform it if it had not been that Samaria was a new sphere of Christian work, which was by this mission incorporated with the existing church at Jerusalem. St. Peter baptized Cornelius by special revelation, but he gave a very particular account of his proceeding to the Church at Jerusalem, and the adoption of his action there is specially recorded. The solemn mission of SS. Paul and Barnabas to the Gentiles by the Church at Antioch is recorded in ch. xiii. And the account given by St. Paul at Antioch and Jerusalem of the results of his work in heathen lands is narrated in chap. xiv. 27, xviii. 22, 23, xxi. 18, 19. By these means it came to pass that a Catholic Church was founded and not a number of unconnected sects, that there was one body with many members, all adopting the episcopal form of government, ready for the assemblage of councils to determine the canon of Scripture and other points equally vital, and that Pauline Christianity founded by a leader so independent and so careful to magnify his apostolic office as St. Paul was still closely united with the community of the twelve.

By what means the Church provided that the same method of extension should still prevail, and that no new body of Christians should ever find itself without a bond to the existing Church, we see in Canon ix. of the Council of Antioch, held A.D. 341, which also stands as xxxiii. of the Apostolical Canons.<sup>1</sup> 'Each bishop has power only over his own diocese . . . and must not, apart from his metropolitan bishop, attempt to do anything beyond, and the metropolitan should do nothing without the agreement of the rest.' This is the canon which touches the case. The Archbishop declares with some

<sup>1</sup> See Hefele, *Conciliengesch. in loc.*



reason that another canon, forbidding interference in another bishop's diocese, is inapplicable in its strictness to the present divided state of Christendom.<sup>1</sup> But the canon which we have just quoted applies not *ab extra* but *ab intra*, not to impediments which a bishop meets when he moves outside his diocese, but to the internal law which can give him liberty to stir a foot beyond his diocese. This ancient law was grievously set at naught by the Popes. But we reject their claims; and the law is as applicable to Bishops of the Anglican Communion now as the first day it was made, and will be applicable until we find a Bishop who stands by himself and is in communion with nobody. Accordingly, no mere Bishop of the Anglican Communion pretends to the right of establishing a new diocese among the heathen, and consecrating a bishop for it on his own responsibility.

The Archbishop would not desire a merely national communion for himself; but it would really seem that he contemplates without repugnance the prospect of establishing the Spanish Reformed Church in a position in which it shall be in communion with no church external to itself; not even with the Irish, which, through his hands, shall have given it birth. He has uniformly refused to allow that his action in consecrating Señor Cabrera would place the new bishop or his Church in communion with the Irish. And the Rev. Godfrey Pope—who, so far as we can learn from any document accessible, speaks for and signs for, in his own single person, the entire Lusitanian Church, Irishman though he be—asks the question, 'What communion, then, are we to form or join?' and replies, 'We desire to form a National, Independent, and Episcopal Church;' which sentence would be no reply to the question it professes to answer unless Independent meant out of communion with any other church: Episcopally Independent in the same sense in which Congregational Independency is the claim of the community of our admirable countryman, Dr. Dale of Birmingham. If that result could be secured it would but amount to this: that the new church would commence its life in separation and schism so far as those terms can be applied to a church that never was in communion with any other at all. It would be exactly such a church as the New Testament procedure was framed to prevent from existing. But we do not believe that its existence could be secured in such independence. We cannot see how three bishops of the Irish Church could

<sup>1</sup> *Reformation Movement*, &c. p. 9.

partake of Holy Communion with the Spaniards (as they must do when they consecrate according to either Spanish or Irish form), and yet the Irish Church remain out of communion with the Spanish. The only way in which she could hinder this consequence would be by dissolving communion with her own three prelates. Moreover, as one of the Archbishop of Dublin's advocates in the Irish Synod asserted, and, we think, proved with a force for which his Grace cannot have been very thankful, the Preface to the Constitution of the Irish Church places it *ipso facto* in communion with a body accepting the fundamental principles which, according to the Archbishop, the Spanish asserts. And if the Spanish Church be in communion with the Irish Church, how can the English, unless it renounces communion with the Irish, fail to be in communion with the Spanish too? In this case the Archbishop will have forced into the Anglican communion, without the consent of bishops or convocations, synods or lay representatives in any quarter, a body whose principles and position have never been legally examined, which he, indeed, approves, but the majority of his fellow Church people disapprove or doubt. We could not wonder if such an act were widely resented as an act of tyranny against the liberties of the Church and the rights of the episcopate in general such as the Pope has never exceeded. This is the inevitable dilemma: either the Spanish Reformed Episcopate will be in communion with the Irish (we think we may say Anglican) or it will not. If it will, a liberty will have been taken with the discipline of that Church such as no bishop or three bishops can have any right to assume; if it will not, then bishops who, in the Creed, express their belief in the Holy Catholic Church will have deliberately aided to set up a church which, though episcopal, is *ex professo* Independent, and not Catholic.

If an individual bishop had in himself the power to do such an act, it would be right that he should do it by himself, on his own motion, or after consultation with those, and those only, who could not themselves be held responsible. But the Archbishop of Dublin, though a thoroughly generous man, and not at all afraid of responsibility, did not act thus. He called a meeting of his brethren in the early portion of the present year and informed them that, in default of a protest from them, he would proceed to Spain and satisfy the Spanish petition for episcopacy. We have the most serious doubt, and we know our doubt to be shared by high legal authority in Ireland, whether the Irish bishops, in a

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mere meeting, had any right officially to consider such a question. It is a question which concerns deeply the conscientious convictions of the members of the Church at large and her position in the Anglican communion. The Irish bishops have accepted a Constitution to which legislation or action binding on the Church and done by the bishops sitting by themselves is quite unknown. They have no more right to decide constitutional questions regarding the Church at large outside the general synod than the English bishops have outside of convocation. When we remember the extreme jealousy of episcopal power manifested by the popular party at the framing of the Irish Constitution, it is strange to see how silently a very notable excess of that power is borne with. But this is accounted for by the anti-papal character of the proposed act. Were it of a different nature both presbyters and laity would be ready with their protest at the independent action of the bishops in an informal meeting outside Synod.

But the question of the powers of bishops in relation to the constitution of the Irish Church becomes of great importance when we remember that the General Synod at its last meeting referred back the whole Spanish question to the bishops as one which concerns them, but subject to the laws and constitution of the Church of Ireland. That resolution, with such a reserve contained in it, cannot be supposed to give a legal effect to the vague opinion previously issued by the majority of the bishops, nor yet to endow the prelates with a new constitutional power of dealing with the subject by themselves at a future meeting. We cannot see what meaning it can have for them, except that they are to deal with the matter formally and responsibly as the House of Bishops in the constitution, and prepare a measure for the synod, which may endorse their action or not. This would be the only way to deal with the matter subject to the laws and constitution of the Church of Ireland.

The Irish bishops, moreover, are in a false position when entertaining a question put before them in the form in which the Spanish ordinations were presented. It is not for a national episcopacy to give advice where their authority is not recognized. They cannot consider such a question with the sense of personal responsibility for ascertaining and weighing all the facts which they would feel if the matter were recognized to belong to them. And yet what they give as a mere opinion is sure to be regarded as a responsible determination which exposes them, and not only them but their Church, to all the blame of the transaction.

If the Irish bishops had conceived themselves to be considering the question on their responsibility, they could hardly have avoided taking into account their obligations to the Lambeth Conference and the great Communion which that assembly represents. We do not for a moment forget the independence of the Irish Church as a national body ; it has paid dearly for its liberty, which ought not to be interfered with. Fully the same freedom is its right as that which is conceded to the American Church. And the English bishops have certainly shown themselves minded to observe Irish national rights ; more so than St. Cyprian was or than he expected his Roman brother to be, in the case of the Gallic bishops and Marcius of Arles.<sup>1</sup> But the Irish bishops are well aware that the dignity of a Church is best maintained when it observes its own obligations to others, and the fact that the question had been referred by the Irish bishops to the Lambeth Conference certainly created an obligation.

We must admit that the Conference does not seem to have dealt with it in a satisfactory manner. It might have been foreseen that the encouragement given to the Spaniards to hope for recognition, when they should have obtained Catholic organization, would stimulate the faithful and determined friend of the Spaniards to give them the requisite qualification. And we see some reason for the sarcasm of the petition of the Lusitanian Church to the Irish bishops ; a document which we feel sure comes from no Lusitanian Church, but from the very able pen of its universal spokesman, the Rev. Godfrey Pope :

'We cannot suppose that the Conference desired us to adopt some non-episcopal form of government ; and if not we hereby submit that we are proceeding in harmony with the spirit of the Lambeth resolution. We cannot believe that the Lambeth Conference meant to convey a vague expression of merely theoretical sympathy ; and if not, we beg again to ask your Lordships how otherwise we can expect to obtain that Catholic organization except as we have done, and venture to do again, by asking your Lordships to grant us the episcopate.'

This is perhaps more smart than becoming, and it is deprived of some of its point by the fact that the episcopate might conceivably have been obtained from the Jansenists or New Catholics. But these bishops declined to entertain the application because (more mindful than some among ourselves of

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 67, ed. Baluze.

the obligations of mutual communion) they had determined that none of their number should give the episcopacy except by concert with the rest, and the Jansenists had a strong objection to the Thirty-nine Articles, which the Spaniards, contrary to the express judgment of the Lambeth Conference, insist on adopting.

Withal, the assembled bishops at Lambeth might, as we admit, have well been more explicit. But that is no sufficient reason why the conference of Irish bishops should recall to themselves a question which they had sent up to the larger conference ; and that as bishops of the Anglican Communion they should give, or stand by while three of their members give, a gift which the body to which they all belong had refused.

It is scarcely possible to conceive anything weaker and, at the same time, less justifiable than the resolution to which the Irish bishops came. Grudgingly, and with an obvious desire to leave the blame of any harm that may ensue upon the Archbishop of Dublin, they declare

'we would not regard it as an indefensible exercise of the powers entrusted to the episcopate if at the request of such congregations the Archbishop of Dublin, who is intimately acquainted with the history of the movement and with the characters of those who are carrying it on, acting in concert with two other bishops who may be willing to act with him, either of the Church of Ireland or of a Church in communion with the Church of Ireland, should, if he shall so deem fit, proceed to Spain and Portugal, and there confer episcopal orders upon the two clergymen chosen in those two countries respectively by the representatives of the said congregations, and of whose personal fitness the consecrating bishops shall be fully satisfied.'

That is to say, the Irish bishops recognized the supposed right of individual bishops to send themselves outside their own dioceses ; a right of which no proof has been attempted, except an ambiguous passage from an author of the eighteenth century, and of which the bishops offer no proof at all, nor even the least record that they have investigated it. If the truth must be told, we believe that they never investigated it. Were the affairs of the Church managed with the same seriousness as those of secular law, it would be really incredible that such a business should be determined without submitting for skilled legal or theological opinion even one of the many legal and theological points which it presents. Skilled theologians have never reported upon the doctrine of the Spanish Prayer Book. Civilians or divines have never been engaged to consider the rights of bishops in reference to the episcopate

with which they are in communion, or the Church constitution which they have accepted.

According to our experience the greatest and almost the only advantage which the Church of Rome has over us at present is her superior discipline. Minds of a certain class are unable to believe that a Church where liberty seems so often to prevail over law can be really part of the body of Christ. Doubtless we may answer that it is worse still that law should prevail over liberty. But an ill-drilled army is a depressing sight, and such want of discipline in the episcopate, and encouraged by the episcopate, as this Spanish consecration, would be a crowning example of the weakness of our law. It would give an advantage to Rome as great as the separate action of the generals in an army affords to the commander who opposes them. It is our firm persuasion that the consolidation of the Anglican communion would raise the strongest possible defence against Rome. It is this that makes us earnest in this controversy. And no true friend of Archbishop Plunket or of the Irish Church could desire to see them become the chief agents in hindering that process of Anglican unity and united action which is proceeding slowly, perhaps, but surely, and which requires the cordial aid of all who know that the establishment of constitutional principles of action is far more important than the immediate satisfaction of the wishes or even interests of a few.

Our conception of the best solution of the difficulty is this—that the Archbishop of Dublin and his two brethren should recognize it as impossible, after the late debate in their General Synod, to carry out their intention of proceeding to a consecration without submitting the question to a new meeting of the Irish bishops; that the bishops should refer the whole matter anew to the Lambeth Conference, asking the sanction of their General Synod for doing so, and that the Lambeth Conference at its next meeting should appoint a committee of their number, who should determine the question after full theological examination of the theological questions involved, and sufficient testimony as to the facts of the movement gathered by unbiassed witnesses on the spot. This would be the only method of securing that right should be done, and that future dispute should be precluded by involving our whole communion in the action that should be taken. And if upon this broad basis any structure can be reared that shall be satisfactory to the Archbishop and the clients he has so resolutely patronized, who could fail to be content?

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## ART. III.—OUR SOCIAL OUTLOOK.

*Social Evolution.* By BENJAMIN KIDD. (London, 1894.)

FEW who contemplate the social outlook of this end of the century can do it with a light heart, and writers for the most part come to increase our anxiety rather than to console us. The socialists may perhaps tell us of a good time in the future; but we shall never see it; but to us is assigned the period of destruction and removal, the time of strikes and discontents, but not the happy spectacle of a society refounded and rebuilt. Evolutionists like Mr. Spencer may prophesy the inevitable development of a state of perfect adjustment when Egoism and Altruism shall have amalgamated into absolute unity; but for us, and many a generation after us, is the period of imperfect understanding, and Professor Huxley proclaims it as the part of virtuous men to fight the cruel progress of Evolution, and delay it or drive it back if they can. Historians like Mr. Pearson discern in no such distant future the prevalence of barbarous peoples, and the defeat of civilizations. And the patriotic Briton who foresees his conquering race played out, may mingle his sighs with those of the Christian who is required to expect that the heavens will become brass, and not one drop of the live-giving rain of the supernatural will be allowed to descend upon a creature imprisoned in the finite.

But there is balm in Gilead. Perhaps the laws of life, individual and social, may not be so inexorable; perhaps the good may come without sending so much evil in advance of it. We offer a most thankful welcome to the work of Mr. Kidd, who gives us reasons of hope; and these founded on no emotional rhapsodies, but upon sound scientific argument. If he thinks better of our social future than other writers of the time, it is because he takes account of past facts which have obtained from evolutionists far slighter recognition than their importance deserves.

Our author rightly names first among evolutionists the illustrious Herbert Spencer. The reader will perhaps remember the estimate which we laid before him a year ago of the confessed ethical failure of this philosopher's teaching. Mr. Kidd estimates him as highly as we did, yet rates no higher the practical outcome of his teaching in the social department.

‘It is a stupendous attempt not only at the unification of knowledge,

but at the explanation, in terms of evolutionary science, of the development which human society is undergoing, and towards the elucidation of which development it is rightly recognised that all the work of science in lower fields should be preliminary. Yet so little practical light has the author apparently succeeded in throwing on the nature of the social problems of our time, that his investigations and conclusions are, according as they are dealt with by one side or the other, held to lead up to the opinions of the two diametrically opposite camps of individualists and collectivists into which society is slowly becoming organised' (p. 2).

And so of another illustrious scientist whose social and ethical discouragement we also recorded not long ago:—

'Professor Huxley himself, despite his negative conclusions, is almost as outspoken as a Nihilist in his dissatisfaction with the existing state of things. "Even the best of our modern civilisations," said he recently, "appears to me to exhibit a condition of mankind which neither embodies any worthy ideal nor even possesses the merit of stability. I do not hesitate to express the opinion that, if there is no hope of a larger improvement of the condition of the greater part of the human family: if it is true that the increase of knowledge, the winning of a greater dominion over Nature which is its consequence, and the wealth which follows upon that dominion, are to make no difference in the extent and the intensity of want, with its concomitant physical and moral degradation, amongst the masses of the people, I should hail the advent of some kindly comet which would sweep the whole affair away as a desirable consummation"' (p. 4).

Social problems are becoming the pressing business of all men: we cannot shut them out. Only one hundred years ago nations and communities were as distant from each other in mind as they were at the Christian Era. But now the world has become larger to us than it was. It is impossible that the little part of life and space which lies close to us should be the whole of our world as it was to our ancestors. P. P., clerk of this parish, has had his outlook wondrously enlarged. It is indeed but comparatively that we can claim to know one another better than the people of old times used to do. It is still too possible for us to mistake one another's religions, thoughts, and designs: as, indeed, we may mistake our own. But at least the materials for judgment pour in upon us from every quarter of the globe. The rich can know the poor, and the poor the rich, if they will. The time is past or passing when our own traditions were the sole truth to us, and all else a vaguely-known region of mist and error, which we might fill with phantoms at our fancy; while if other people disowned the notions we imputed to them, we did not believe their disclaimer, or at least were convinced that, if they did not think as we had supposed, they

thought something just as bad. Religion well exemplifies the enlargement of our horizon. Our neighbours of Rome, we now find, have not lost the powers of evangelical enthusiasm or the self-devotion of faith; and if our neighbours of Rome, on their part, consider that the privileges and powers of the faith of Christ are confined to the fold of Peter, they can preserve the illusion only by an ignorance of the greater religious world beyond them, which the opportunities of intercourse must render ever harder to maintain.

In such times of breaking down of barriers it is natural, as Mr. Kidd expresses it, that 'to many minds socialism seems to have been born again, and to be entering on the positive and practical stage. It has ceased to be a theory, it has begun to be a kind of religion.' And, on the other side, within the churches themselves there is 'a growing tendency to assert that religion is concerned with man's actual state in this world as well as with his possible state in the next' (pp. 8-13).

In truth, it is wonderful that any who ever heard of Christianity should have so mistaken the nature of religion as to suppose that it concerned the next world more than this, and still more wonderful that any Christian should have given cause for such a misconception of the idea of their faith. The very nature of Christianity is to bring down religion from the sky to the earth, out of the regions of guess and possibility into the visible and certain. Therefore, if men who seek the welfare of the working classes become convinced that so holy a pursuit requires a religion to prompt the sacrifices which it demands from those who possess, and to make the blessings which it gives to those who have little something more than earthly and material, the religion of Christ is the very thing they need. Where will they find, or how will they devise, a faith which shall better preach to the rich man a regard for his poor brother, or provide the poor man with nobler hopes and desires?

Mr. Kidd discerns in the social movement of the time, not only within the churches, but outside of them, a marked religious character. 'The assured and aggressive objector to religion' has wellnigh disappeared, and his state of mind has been superseded in America, Germany, and England, but more especially in the latter, by 'a remarkable earnestness, a general, deep-seated religiousness—using the word in its broadest sense; for the disposition is often not less marked among those openly rejecting the dogmas of religion—which is perhaps without a parallel in any previous age' (p. 16).

The militant onslaughts even of a Huxley do not meet with the response they once secured. The age has moved beyond them. And we hold that the author expresses a condition of the public mind which not only exists, but ought to exist, because it is well-founded and true, when he uses these remarkable words :

'The general mind, so often more scientific than our current science, seems to feel that there is something wrong in the attitude of science towards this subject of religion, that the most persistent and universal class of phenomena connected with human society cannot be thus lightly disposed of, and that our religious systems must have some unexplained function to perform in the evolution which society is undergoing, and on a scale to correspond with the magnitude of the phenomena' (p. 16).

These are words of truth, and the claim which they make—that the recognition of religion is more scientific than the rejection of it—is entirely just. It is grotesque to see a teacher of the doctrine of evolution, in the first place, maintaining that every great characteristic of the frame and mind of man is the slow and irresistible product, not of man's own reason or intentions, but of the nature of things ; and, in the second, treating religion, which is one of the most universal of these characteristics, as a superficial fancy, which a breath of argument in these last days can overthrow.

Among the phenomena which mark the general 'religiousness' of the time, Mr. Kidd places the movement of certain minds towards Rome, and even towards the unhealthy superstitions of Theosophy. But we shall have the assent of every calm observer of English life, whatever be his own opinions, when we claim the progress of the Church of England within the last half-century as a sign of the prevalence of religiousness in the land compared with which any advance that either Rome or Theosophy can assert is but as a rivulet in comparison to a tide. And if so able a Positivist as Mr. F. Harrison be right in believing that 'the net result of the whole negative attack on the Gospel has perhaps been to deepen the moral hold of Christianity upon society,' the Church of England is beyond doubt the form of Christianity in which this moral claim has been most zealously asserted and most widely recognized.

But Mr. Kidd is bold to say that it is within the domain of Science herself that signs of the existence and power of religion are chiefly to be discerned. The 'religions of man form one of the most striking and persistent of the phenomena of life when encountered under its highest forms,

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namely, in human society,' and 'the question of real importance' (in the view of Darwinian science) 'is not whether any section of persons, however learned, is of opinion that religious beliefs are without any foundation in reason, but whether religious systems have a function to perform in the evolution of society' (p. 20). Many times have we urged the same argument in the pages of this Review. We shall not therefore quote the forcible language in which Mr. Kidd expresses the 'continued feeling of disappointment, and even impatience, at the triviality and comparative insignificance of the explanations offered' by Mr. Spencer and his followers to account for the presence of such a class of phenomena in social history as those of religion. What, in fact, can be more absurd than to name, with Mr. Grant Allen, ancestor worship as the real foundation of a belief which, in various forms, has continued to exist with constantly increasing power thousands of years after that primitive superstition had become as obsolete as stone hatchets?

The 'dismal science' of political economy has assumed under recent teachers a broader aspect and a closer connexion with life than it formerly possessed. In the last generation political economy expressed only the science of a banker's or stockbroker's office. Man was regarded as a money-coveting organism; and so long as the causes which affect the market of gain were rightly estimated, it was taken for granted that man must be ruled by them. But it has been discovered that this is too narrow an estimate, and that the stockbroker's clients, and even the stockbroker himself, are living men prompted in their making of money and their spending and investing of it, not merely by the laws of the money market, but by the more complex influences of social life. The political economist must ask the aid of the biologist. But if the biologist will determine to shut his eyes to the phenomena of religion because he himself disbelieves religion, he is repeating the very same error, in his own larger department, which he was called in to correct for the smaller.

The first stages in the development of man repeat the rude struggle for life which the history of the lower creatures has exhibited. And even after Christianity has established itself among the foremost peoples of the world, the ancient tradition of contention is maintained with hardly less of savagery than by the Babylonians or the Romans of the ages before Christ. 'The ages of faith prove to be ages of fighting no less than those which preceded them' (p. 44). Perhaps Mr. Kidd hardly does justice to the protest of the Church in

the Middle Ages on behalf of the softening influences of Christianity. Yet it must be confessed that the protest was but imperfect, and too much mixed with earthly ambitions in the Papacy, which was its chief mouthpiece. The Papacy, as well as other powers which professed to fight for Christ, were apt to use in His pretended service the pre-Christian weapons of the hatchet and the club; and when the Reformation came the Papacy had become as earthly an institution as any in Europe.

Mr. Kidd claims for the Anglo-Saxon race that it has been 'more deeply affected than many others by the altruistic influences of the ethical system upon which our Western civilisation is founded': that is to say, in plain terms, by the influences of Christianity. Whatever the crimes of the Anglo-Saxon against the inferior races with which he has come into such extensive contact, he has at least tried to do better than other foreign conquerors either of ancient or modern times; and Mr. Lecky places the crusade against slavery amongst 'the three or four perfectly virtuous acts recorded in the history of nations.' Yet, by an inevitable law, the inferior races disappear as surely, though not so rapidly, when they are fostered as when they are slaughtered. There is a sad humour in the words which Mr. Kidd quotes, that the disappearance of natives is due to 'drink, disease, European clothing, peace, and wealth.' The American negro, indeed, continues to live, but no emancipation can make him rule or even make the very people who have set him free cease for a moment to rule him.

Some sad facts in human progress bring us in contact with a great problem. We see the lower creatures, at the prompting of instinct, and ruled by laws which they cannot comprehend, submit to those onerous conditions of existence which so often require the individual to sacrifice himself for the sake of the welfare of his race in a future wherein he has no possible interest. But at last we arrive at man: a creature possessed of the reason which other animals want, and therefore able to comprehend and criticize the laws and rules of progress which dominate the beasts without any consent on their part. His progress resembles theirs in many important respects. It is made under the stress of suffering, and the useless members of the human race are killed off as ruthlessly as the flies in cold weather. The individual is subjected to the interests of the society more deliberately and continuously than in the case of any other animal. And how is it that a reasoning creature, who understands what is required of him,

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is induced to be a party to such a plan of life? 'How is the possession of reason ever to be rendered compatible with the will to submit to conditions of existence so onerous, requiring the effective and continual subordination of the individual's welfare to the progress of a development in which he can have no personal interest whatever?' (p. 64). We stand face to face with the grim fact that our social system requires a proportion of 30 per cent. of the population of London to content themselves with a life of misery. This state of things cannot possibly commend itself to the reason of those who are required to pay so dearly with their persons for the prosperity of others in whom they have no interest. What are the comfortable classes to them, and, still more, what are the future inhabitants of the world to them? Can the altruistic pleasure of reflecting that the rich are, and the generations unborn will be, happy compensate for the egoistic misery of personal privation and despair? And if not, why do they submit?

We are bound to say that in stating this terrible problem Mr. Kidd seems to us to suppose human reason acting in too abstract a sphere, and to make insufficient allowance for the individual circumstances of which reason, to be practical, should take account. The personal equation must be allowed for, even in astronomical calculations: how much more must a man's reason, in considering what is most for his happiness, regard the circumstances in which he is placed and the habits in which he has been trained? And when these are set down it may very well be that our practical reason should determine that it is not only the most prudent but the happiest course for us to remain content with circumstances which reason in the abstract must regard as very hard and unjust. At all times there has been, even for the most prosperous of mankind, a great deal in the physical conditions of human life which reason could not justify; but the wise accept them because they are the actual conditions of our being, and to resist them is to launch ourselves upon a sea of strife when we might have lived, if not in joy, yet in peace. And though social institutions be not so unchangeable as natural facts, yet for the individual poor man the difference in this respect is insignificant. In point of fact, the lives of danger or the actual self-destruction to which Nihilists and Anarchists subject themselves are not the effects of reason revolting against the demands of the social system, but of passion or of sympathy sacrificing self for altruistic objects, however mistaken. Reason, calmly viewing the question of

personal interest, would seem to justify the quiet sufferer, who bears the worst troubles that can come to him in a civilized society, rather than the revolutionist, who resists a society which possesses any strength to defend itself.

But whatever arguments for putting up with things as they are natural conservatism may bring, it must still be a serious matter that the general reason of large classes should disapprove of the social system. Willing co-operation, and not sullen acquiescence, is required of workers to make the great machine move freely. The merits of the social system will be freely canvassed in times like ours. Education, newspapers, and democracy give the workers both the means and the spirit of criticizing the social conditions under which they live. No dependence at all can be placed upon natural reverence for rights accredited by age and use. The Christian lesson that men are all of one blood has passed into the mind of the people. A social system which gives liberty and hope to all, or nearly all, need not in the long run dread the severest criticism. But if the misery of a great many becomes so intense that they cannot see what they would lose by any change—if life be such a blank to them that wild adventures and cruel revenges upon society are welcome to their souls—then the practical reason has but little argument to offer for submission, and the settled disbelief and resentment against the social system may be at any time turned by a fanatical agitator into active rebellion. And the question how have men been, and how can they still be, induced to submit to social circumstances which their reason does not justify, becomes matter of most practical interest.

Mr. Kidd finds the answer in religion. An unprejudiced inquirer, learning for the first time the facts of our condition and of our history, 'could not fail to be struck by the extraordinary depth and dimensions of the conflict waged by religion and the forces set in motion by human reason' (p. 86). We must confess that if the word 'reason' be taken in its highest and truest sense, we should find this sentence grate upon us very sorely. We do not believe that reason and religion have ever been at war, and the lessons of contentment under suffering which religion has undoubtedly taught justify themselves to reason by the peace and happiness they bring, and the strife and trouble they avoid. We must therefore remember that Mr. Kidd appears to take the word 'reason' as denoting the selfish and material conclusion to which an individual will come if he regards only his own earthly interests. In this sense of the word 'reason' religion has no

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doubt opposed it; but the higher moods of reason itself have done the same.

The aspect in which Napoleon I. viewed the action of reason and the use of religion bears a great resemblance to that which Mr. Kidd assigns to them.

'Society,' said Napoleon, 'cannot exist without inequality of fortune, nor inequality of fortune without religion. Where a man is dying of hunger beside another who is gorging himself, it is impossible for him to approve the difference unless there is some authority to assure him that it is the will of God.'<sup>1</sup>

This is a brutal way of putting it, but it only translates into the language of tyranny and materialism the undoubted truth that the privations of life would be intolerable without spiritual consolations and hopes. The rich man tortured by disease may feel this when he compares his case with a peasant's youth and health, just as much as a poor man who compares his destitution with the rich man's plenty.

When Mr. Kidd describes the immediate consciousness of being badly off in the world, and the natural repugnance to the fact, he calls it reason, and in this sense he is no doubt right when he says that

'The central feature of human history, the meaning of which neither science nor philosophy has hitherto fully recognized, is apparently the struggle which man throughout the whole period of his social development has carried on to effect the subordination of his own reason. The motive power in this struggle has undoubtedly been supplied by his religious beliefs. The conclusion towards which we seem to be carried is therefore that the function of these beliefs in human evolution must be to provide a superrational sanction for that large class of conduct in the individual necessary to the maintenance of the development which is proceeding, but for which there never can be in the nature of things any rational sanction' (p. 100).

We hold that there is a rational sanction, but it takes account of the whole man, soul as well as body, conscience as well as desire, and seeks the satisfaction of the religious faculty as well as of the hunger for meat that perisheth. Mr. Kidd chooses to call these spiritual desires and powers 'ultra-rational' (evidently meaning what would ordinarily be called beyond reason). We prefer to call them rational in the highest sense of the word. But, at all events, we shall agree that they deal with the supernatural, and require a supernatural faith for their exercise. 'This is true,' says Mr. Kidd, 'of every form of religion that we see influencing men in the

<sup>1</sup> See Taine in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, May 1891.

world around us, from Buddhism to the Roman Catholic Church and the Salvation Army' (p. 113). And therefore not one of those systems of man's devising, which manufacture a religion out of natural wonder, fear, or reverence, has had any success among men.

But, although every religion which has any effective moral power has partaken of the supernatural character, yet Christianity displays it in an altogether extraordinary degree. Our civilization depends upon it.

'The new force which was born into the world with the Christian religion was evidently, from the very first, of immeasurable social significance. . . . We have to note also that the new force was in no way the product of reason or of the intellect. No impetus came from this quarter. As in all movements of the kind the intellectual forces of the time were directly in opposition' (pp. 123-4).

It seems to us that Mr. Kidd exaggerates the contrast between Christianity and the best previous religions, and the separation between intellect and Christianity. The early Christian preachers do not themselves declare such a contrast in either case. To them the earlier period is a time of childhood and education, while Christ brings moral and spiritual maturity. And surely this is the aspect which an evolutionist must prefer to accept. A supernatural power exercised from the beginnings of the universe, known dimly to man whose capacity is fitted to grasp it, known better as time proceeds, and at last revealing itself with a force infinitely beyond anything previous, is a history of evolution. But the appearance of a spiritual power in Christianity, completely unknown and unshadowed before, seems hardly reconcilable with the principles of development which Mr. Kidd so strongly asserts. Nor do we see why he maintains or how he can demonstrate the total distinction between the power of Christianity and human intellect. Surely the effect of the new religion upon the intellect was as remarkable as its effect upon the soul. The words of its Founder pierce to the heart of questions with which the best of other teachers only trifle; the wisdom which the apostles speak with them that are perfect is not indeed the wisdom of this world, but it is more profound, and has aroused and informed the mind of the Church with wonderful power. But no doubt the intellectual stimulus of Christianity was subsidiary to its moral and spiritual work, and Mr. Kidd is fully justified in regarding its supernatural influence as the ruling principle of the social development of Europe.

The author follows up his low estimate of the popular power

of Mediæval Christianity by laying extraordinary stress upon the change which the Reformation produced. This movement, according to him,

'liberates into the practical life of the peoples affected by it that immense body of altruistic feeling which had been from the beginning the distinctive social product of the Christian religion, but which had hitherto been, during a period of immaturity and intense vitality, directed into other channels' (p. 154).

We are at a loss to understand what other channels besides altruism there are into which altruistic feeling can be diverted ; and surely the Reformation had an intensely egoistic side as well as an altruistic. It called upon men to regard their own souls, and it awakened an individuality and a self-consciousness which had never before been fostered in Christianity. The bond of connexion between the individual and the Church which Catholicism binds so tightly did not wholly consist, even in the most superstitious times, of intellectual submission. It was also a bond of affection, and promoted charity and self-denial for the sake of others. Never has altruism reached a higher pitch than in the saints, not only of primitive times, but even of the middle ages. And it connected itself in them with the closest union to the Founder of their faith. While, on the other hand, it is useless to deny that Reformation faiths have often operated both upon individuals and upon classes to make them content with themselves and forgetful of others.

Still we do not refuse the opinion of Mr. Kidd as true in the main : that the Reformation makes an era in the development of the Anglo-Saxon race, and that this era is marked by a gradual diffusion of the kind spirit of Christianity among the people in their relations to each other and to the nations outside. Whatever the instances of Christian altruism in individuals and classes which other countries display, it is just to claim for England that she had led the way in measures of good intention to the races with which her widespread empire has brought her in contact, and equalising the conditions of competition in life among the various classes of her own population.

The first great instance of the process was the extinction of slavery, first in Europe itself, and then abroad. It was not the result (as a follower of Mr. Buckle might believe) of intellectual enlightenment, but of moral feeling ; with only so much of intellect mingled with it as is implied in its grasp upon the doctrine of salvation and the doctrine of the equality

of all men before God. The belief that all men are redeemed, and possess, therefore, souls of incalculable value, gives the meanest of men an immeasurable importance, and links itself well with the salvation of Christ ; since how can they all be redeemed, yet unequal in essential value or importance ?

The second operation of Christian altruism Mr. Kidd finds in the extension of political privileges to the so-called lower classes. Undoubtedly it has been carried out by struggles fierce and long, of which the French Revolution is the most terrible. Yet the author contends that in every country in which the people have made their way to a share of power and privilege, the ruling classes would have had the strength to crush out the spirit of change in its early stages if only they could have fought for their position with a good conscience. But the sense which Christianity gave them of the rights of their countrymen and fellow-creatures unnerved their arms and weakened their resolution. Here again we must remind Mr. Kidd that a similar condition of things was displayed in the struggles of the plebeians of Rome ; and that Livy records for us again and again the power of conscience compelling the patricians to lighten the burdens of the men whose blood was shed in the national wars as freely as their own. But the fact that this influence of feeling was discernible in societies before Christianity was given is no reason why we should not recognize the power of our religion to give it a far stronger operation, and to make it more calm and practical, than it had before.

This spirit of concession began to operate in England earlier than in foreign lands. In later times the consciousness of having a cause to fight for which was deeply tainted with injustice is discernible enough in the ineffective resistance which the ancient régime in France made to the revolution in the early stages before Napoleon armed all enemies of tyranny and aggression against a revolutionary government. But the conscience of the ruling classes in France was not awakened early enough ; and discontent accumulated so largely that it burst forth as a deluge, not a river. And this spoiled the course of development and deeply injured, if it did not destroy, the continuity between the old and the new. And we cannot think without regret how little the Church of France had done to soften the hearts of the rich to the poor, and of the poor to the rich, before the long-stored Nemesis delivered its fatal stroke.

In England it was otherwise. Many centuries before the French Revolution the advance of our people to freedom



began. It did not proceed without contest, for that is the condition of evolution; but the contests seldom rose to the pitch of revolution in the English sense, and never in the French; and an immensity of steady advance was secured in peace simply by social and constitutional work and life, through which preparation was made for a new political step, or the effects of a past step were solidly appropriated into the habits of the people. It is a past for which to be thankful, not merely on account of God's providences in outward history, but on account of God's influence upon the souls and minds of individuals and generations.

Mr. Kidd is hard upon the power-holding class when he represents the operation of altruism and of religion upon them as consisting solely in weakening their power of resistance. Besides the fact, which he himself mentions, that many leaders of popular advance have come from the ranks of the noble and rich, there is surely also a positive benefit to the community, and one in which religious feeling may well have a share, in the prudent delays and the adaptation to ancient and established principles which the power-holding class impose upon popular demands before conceding them. The weapons of right and of religion do not belong wholly to the attacking army—the defence has its religion no less truly. A brand-new social system raised upon the ruins of an old structure which no one had the conscience to defend is not the system which can best claim the faith and reverence which belong to things evolved out of the past by the laws of nature and God. The environment as well as the organism are His creation, and the moulding power which resistance to change exercises in a nation's progress is no less His ordinance than the sense of right which gives strength to the claim and the good feeling which disposes to concede it. Mr. Kidd is no more than just to the aspirations of the poor when he asserts that they derive their vigour, not from selfishness, but from a pity, too well founded, for the miseries of themselves and their neighbours. But he will also have the justice to allow that resistance to change is strong, not merely with the strength of possession, but with the love of time-honoured and beneficent institutions, full of value for all classes, yet capable, like all things human, of being ruined by rash change. So explained, we can thankfully and heartily approve the words of Mr. Kidd :

'If we look round now at all the great social and political movements which are in progress it may be perceived that we possess the key to our times. It is in this softening of the character, in this

deepening and strengthening of the altruistic feelings, with their increased sensitiveness to stimulus, and the consequent ever-growing sense of responsibility to each other, that we have the explanation of all the social and political movements which are characteristic of the period' (p. 181).

We should include, besides sensitiveness to stimulus, the sense of order and law which is obedient to restraint, and secures the rejection of what is rash as well as the acceptance of what is just.

Happy indeed is the community of which such things can be truly said. Many of us, we fear, will hesitate to ascribe so roseate a tinge to many recent changes; but, even though the wisdom of some developments may be doubted, it can hardly be denied that they are due to a sense of justice and charity on the part of the nation at large, and could never have been carried had these honourable feelings been absent. Home Rule would have been a great misfortune, but had it been carried we should have still ascribed it to a desire, though a very mistaken one, on the part of England to do what is kind by her poorer neighbour.

Mr. Kidd anticipates the objection that many of those most closely concerned with the progress of popular rights have themselves disbelieved the religion to the influence of which he thinks that progress to be due. But the answer is so obvious that, if evolutionists were true to their own principles, it would be quite needless to mention it. If it be true that the moral faculty of men is to such a degree as evolution asserts, the manufacture of countless generations of ancestors gradually and painfully mounting from stage to stage, how is it possible that a man by a few negative movements of his intellect should shake himself free from the religious associations which the whole society out of which he springs, and in which he lives, invests its morality? It would take as many generations for man to develop an irreligious morality as it would for the leopard to change its spots. And even if a man, by merely thinking away his religious inheritance, could divest himself of his own moral obligations to it, how could he hope to do any work among his fellow-men to whom duty to their neighbours has been handed down in closest union with duty to God?

Mr. Kidd's irresistible argument upon this point might well suggest to him a greater admiration for Catholicity and a less exclusive devotion to the Reformation. For the efforts of the Protestant to deny his obligations to the Church, and to be free of her authority, resemble in no slight degree the

similar struggles of the unbeliever to renounce moral connexion with the religion of his race and time. We see very well in his case how vain is the attempt. We lay claim to his morality on behalf of religion. And though we consider that it would be most unreasonable to deny him his liberty, both of mind and spirit, or to refuse him the credit due to his own force of will, yet we think that he, on his part, is doing himself a great moral injury by asserting an impossible independence. He would certainly be consulting for his own happiness of spirit and getting the best out of his moral powers by accepting his birthright in the supernatural, and exerting all the powers which he possesses to improve and develop it. *Spartam nactus es, hanc exorna.* The unbeliever in religion is a dissenter from the great tradition of social evolution.

And there is a similar tradition within the sphere of the Catholic Church—a vast sphere, even though smaller than that of universal humanity. The Reformation had nothing in it which it had not received. The independence of Protestantism is but a fancy. Its attitude of revolt and opposition is inconsistent with Christian history and human nature. No doubt there had been a long-standing attempt to exercise tyranny upon it. Free will and power of choice must be granted it; the influence of the Church is to persuade the will, and must not claim to tyrannize over it. But what shall the will and mind of the man in its own free parliament determine? Is it to reject the authority of the Church to which it owes everything? If so, it will find itself the servant of some inferior community which will rule it with a harder and less enlightened authority than the Catholic Church would have exercised.

Our space does not permit us to treat so minutely as we should have desired the chapter in which Mr. Kidd gives his account of modern socialism. He holds that the arguments wherewith critics have generally assailed it are ineffectual. What the arguments to which he alludes may be we know not: but we readily allow that no arguments could refute a plan for extending equal happiness to all, except such as depend upon the principles of religion and benevolence, and show that the scheme would injure more than it would serve. But we need hardly contend with Mr. Kidd upon the efficiency of the usual answers to socialism, since he is of opinion that its own advocates have made no serious attempt to deal with the primary difficulties of the subject, the first of which is the problem of population.

Progress has always hitherto depended upon selection. The world has never provided enough of food and other necessities in her whole surface, and much less in any particular quarter of it, for the population in the numbers to which it would grow, supposing no restriction to be placed upon its increase. How will socialism deal with this fact? If it leaves it unregarded the result is as inevitable as the ruin of a spendthrift: evolution will wait for as many generations as may be necessary, but in the end will develop an Irish famine on a cosmic scale. If, on the other hand, the necessary restrictions be put upon the growth of population, we see at once an interference with the rights and happiness of the individual as distasteful as the imposed poverty of the industrial system; or we have the contest with other societies on the question which shall possess the supplies of life. And, after all, the selection which artificial rules could make would be far inferior to that which the stern but efficient discipline of nature carries on.

Thus, while Mr. Kidd believes that changes in the relations of capital, labour, and the State will constitute coming history, it is clear to him that these alterations, vast and significant as they promise to be, will be profoundly different in character and results from those which materialists predict (p. 219). The development will end, he believes, in 'eventually bringing all the people into the rivalry of life, not only on a footing of political equality, but on conditions of equal social opportunities' (p. 227). But the power which will secure this happy condition will be the same which has already uplifted the people from a degree of misery in the past to which the remaining misery of the present must not blind us. It will be the ethical principle which has in the past secured to the people a system of government able to compel selfishness to relax its grasp and then filled the power-holding classes themselves with a sense of pity which compelled them, and will in the future compel them still more, to take their part in the diffusion of good, even against their material interests.

Mr. Kidd supports by historical arguments his belief that the Anglo-Saxon race stands in the forefront of those who inherit and foster the blessed endowment of altruistic feeling, and thereby passes in the competition other peoples intellectually its equals and perhaps its superiors. India and Egypt are pointed out as scenes upon which, amidst many defects, the mercy of our people to inferior races is displayed. But Mr. Kidd believes that a time is coming when the govern-

ments furthest advanced in enlightenment will not consider their duty to the lower populations to be fulfilled by allowing them to waste the resources of those parts of the world which, though unfit for the white man's habitation, are yet capable, under his direction, of yielding vastly increased amounts of food (p. 313). But such attempts at compulsion of inferior populations for their own good, as well as for the general benefit of humanity, must henceforth be undertaken not in the spirit of the buccaneers of the past, but with a steady aim at good to all concerned. We see vast tracts of Africa dealt with on this principle under our eyes.

But our limits are exhausted, and we must conclude our notice of Mr. Kidd's admirable volume by commending it to our readers, assuring them that it will well reward their study. The Church of England holds indeed a glorious position, for which she must give account, in finding herself the chief spiritual guide of a people for whom such things are prophesied. Rightly to perform a duty the like of which neither pope nor patriarch has to discharge, she must show herself the friend of the poor. She must encourage by every means in her power the generous impulses which stir towards them in the hearts of the rich. Again, she must be the preacher of reverence and loyalty among those who struggle for higher place and larger opportunities: that what they gain may be the peaceable development of the laws of right and justice. The possession of wealth or power for herself must never be so valuable in her eyes as the honour of serving the Divine purpose in the world and promoting the conquests of that Gospel of Love which began to be preached by our Lord and is confirmed to us by the rules which the evolution of Christian society commends as true.

#### ART. IV.—CHINESE CENTRAL ASIA.

*Chinese Central Asia: a Ride to Little Tibet.* By HENRY LANSDELL, D.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., Author of *Through Siberia, Russian Central Asia, Through Central Asia, &c.* With three Maps and eighty Illustrations. 2 vols. 8vo. (London, 1893.)

WHAT strange germs of the fever of restlessness must have been transmitted from some Viking ancestor, and under favourable conditions of environment must have multiplied

prodigiously in the blood of our great modern travellers ! Is the disease, we wonder, epidemic or contagious or hereditary, which stirs up our Livingstones, and Burtons, and Lansdells ; and which seizes even at times upon the gentler sex and drives Mrs. Bishop or Mrs. Yelverton across desert continents ? How capriciously and inconveniently a survival of the sea-roving tendency of our Scandinavian ancestors breaks out in the son of some quiet country parson, in whom neither the prospect of succession to the old family living nor a pronounced taste for the Greek and Latin classics can overcome the irresistible longing to go to sea ! For many of us to whom foreign travel is delightful, provided there are comfortable hotels and a passage across the choppy waters which divide perfidious Albion from La belle France means only ninety minutes on the restless waves, these wandering specimens of our countrymen are utterly unintelligible, and the bare suggestion of '*cras ingens iterabimus æquor*' would take all the charm from the most Sybarite banquet on the eve preceding, and would spoil the flavour of wine as old as Teucer himself. Well, '*chacun a son goût !*' Here is a record of more than fifty thousand miles of travel, largely over desert steppe and mountain snow, eighteen thousand of them by rail, twenty-five thousand by water, seven thousand driving and riding on the backs of horses, camels, donkeys, *yaks*, mules, elephants, and men, coolly regarded as a holiday between the completion of his temporary charge of a suburban parish with the added editorship of a religious magazine and whatever post our ecclesiastical authorities may next think fit to assign to that well-seasoned traveller, Dr. Lansdell. As one realises the extent of the regions to be traversed, and the admirable maps contained in these volumes (especially Constable's wonderfully minute and vivid presentation of the rocky chains which form our north-west Indian frontier), enable us clearly to comprehend their singularly uninviting nature, most of us will be only too thankful to visit them by deputy, and under the guidance of so genial and picturesque a cicerone.

The Introduction explains the genesis of Dr. Lansdell's eagerness to penetrate to Lassa through Chinese Turkestan. A special interest attaches to every quarter of the Chinese Empire, and pre-eminently to the sacred metropolis of Chinese Buddhism from which Europeans are still so carefully excluded. Notwithstanding the extent to which European and American missions have now opened up the Celestial land, there are vast regions under its unwieldy suzerainty that are



almost a 'terra incognita' still. How does the singular people, which is believed to be, in common with the Anglo-Saxon, the Russian, and the negro races, one of the future inheritors of the earth—how does it bear itself outside its famous wall? What proportion of its subject races shares the hatred of its mandarin proconsuls for 'foreign devils'? What field does it offer for the efforts of the missionary, and how may it be best approached? These are all questions of intense importance, and their working in Dr. Lansdell's mind was fostered by the memory of past travel in adjacent and largely kindred districts, and was further fanned by the deep conviction (prompted by reading of the heroic conduct of the native Christians amongst the Melanesians) that the average English Christian does microscopically little in personal service or self-sacrifice for the spread of the religion he professes to believe in and love. The proposed journey would, however, occupy in all probability more than two years, and would cost at least a thousand pounds. Dr. Lansdell readily gave the time, and after a somewhat anxious interval the money was forthcoming, and on February 19, 1888, a start was made.

After full discussion of alternative routes, it was determined that it would be best to enter the Chinese territory *via* Kuldja, and to travel as far as possible thither by the new Trans-Caspian railway; but this plan involved a journey to St. Petersburg to secure the requisite permission to use the new line. The extra journey thus involved of some two thousand five hundred miles was looked on as only a preliminary canter, and with full powers of locomotion, and abundant recommendations and advice, Dr. Lansdell set his face towards the East. No wonder that he speaks in highest terms of Russian hospitality and kindness. He found them almost unbounded. From the palaces on the Neva to the extreme outposts of the White Tsar's enormous empire on the confines of Semirechia; through a journey of eighty days, in which thousands of miles were covered by one who was a foreigner, and in most cases a stranger, to his hosts; in lands where the most ordinary necessities of modern civilized daily life are only obtained at much cost and trouble; this English traveller records that he had only on rare occasions to make use of an hotel. It is, we suppose, a mournful necessity that, as facilities for travel increase, and with them hotels are multiplied, the old-world virtue of hospitality gradually fades away. In England it is now as utterly extinct as the hyæna or the elephant of our tertiary strata. Amongst the Russians it still flourishes in full vigour, and Dr. Lansdell's

experience affords a splendid illustration of its most generous exercise.

To English ideas the degree of comfort afforded on the Trans-Caspian railway will seem scant enough. No first-class carriages are at present provided, and it is only once a week that a single second-class carriage is attached to the train; but, failing this, the Russian station-master, *seeing there were a good many passengers*, placed a whole third-class carriage at Dr. Lansdell's disposal. A fourth class, without seats or benches, suffices for the accommodation of the natives. It is significant of the high imperial purposes, to further which this Central Asian railway is constructed, that colonels, generals, and even princes figure amongst its local officials, and that the line advances with remorseless energy through desert and mountains, and across the broadest rivers, at an average rate of four miles a day. The work at times is stupendous, and must test the ingenuity of engineers to the utmost, whilst the limit to available resources in performing it, as where huge cuttings have to be excavated by carrying away the earth in panniers upon asses, would horrify our modern contractors. Nor is the description of the route thus painfully secured an alluring one. Dr. Lansdell shall describe a section of it in his own words.

'The first station' (he writes) 'eastward (from Merv) is named after the neighbouring ruins, Bairam Ali, where water is stored in a tank alongside the railway and supplied to the engine from a tun raised on logs of wood. Between this and the next station, at a distance of about twenty-seven miles from Merv, the line enters upon the outer fringe of the most terrible desert, I suppose, crossed by any railway in the world. This desert is not merely sandy, but of sand entirely, with this additional drawback, that whereas the sands on the coast of the Caspian may by labour be half fixed, those near the Oxus are at the mercy of every wind that blows. They cover the face of the country in *barkhans*, or sickle-shaped hills, varying in height up to 100 feet. In certain places plantations of bushes suitable to the soil have been placed beside the railway; but until these grow it seems inevitable that from time to time, after strong winds, the rails will need to be cleared as after a snowstorm. It was by reason of this uncertainty as to what might be the condition of the road, that our train, though arriving at Merv in the morning, did not leave until nearly midnight, so as to traverse the worst part of the sandy desert by day. In the grey dawn of very early morning we reached a station significantly named Pesky, in allusion to the surrounding sand. Here we bade farewell to the few tokens remaining of the Merv oasis, after which sunrise found us at Repetek, where was a refreshment station with only brackish water for making tea, and then we plunged in among the sand barkhans. At Karaul-

Kuyun station was yet erected, but a few tents pitched and a hut constructed of railway-sleepers, out of which the drifting sand was kept with difficulty. From the next station, Barkhan—again named after its local surroundings—there was nothing visible all round but sand-hills, whilst a more desolate outlook than we had from the carriage windows in steaming along, could hardly be imagined. Finally, about six miles west of Amu-Daria, cultivation reappeared with fortified mud-houses and walls and trees, the last somewhat larger than those at Merv. We had now entered the oasis of Charjui, a narrow strip of cultivated land belonging to Bokhara on the west bank of the Oxus; and at ten o'clock we arrived at the station Amu-Daria, thus completing a journey of 670 miles from the Caspian in sixty hours of actual travel' (i. 48-50).

After Amu-Daria the line was no longer open to the public, but as the rails were laid and trucks were running over another eighty miles, Dr. Lansdell was allowed to use it. He crossed the Oxus, over a bridge opened only a few weeks before, in a wooden hut or *maisonnette*, assigned him by Prince Khilkoff free of charge, built upon a wheeled platform and containing two chambers:

'In each room was a bedstead, a table, and two candlesticks. The walls were lined with striped cotton, the windows and doorways were curtained, and there was a lavatory intervening, so that all that was needed was the Russian *samovar* and a lunch-basket to travel as many miles as one pleased. It was in this fashion we crossed the Oxus, whose bed is here more than two miles wide, with many sand-banks and occasionally islands pastured by cattle; whilst so changeable was the course of the current, that a place measuring twenty feet at the time of the erection of the bridge and chosen as the spot for steamers to pass, had now silted up to a depth of two feet only. The bridge is, I suppose, the longest in the world—so long that, when standing at one end, the other is not visible, especially on such a day as we crossed, with sand in the air blown by a strong east wind, and when the train—going very slowly it is true—took twenty-six minutes to go the entire length of the railings. The bridge is lightly constructed of wood, and is not intended to be other than temporary. Tubs of water with pails attached, in case of fire, are placed upon it at intervals, and on the bridge itself occurs the one thousandth verst post from the Caspian' (i. 59, 60).

It was at a distance of ninety miles beyond Bokhara that the head of the line was reached, and here Dr. Lansdell became the guest of General Annenkoff, its illustrious engineer, and visited his famous train of two-storied waggons, a veritable moving village of 1,500 persons. It would be difficult to conceive a more marvellous illustration of the sudden intrusion of Western civilization into the very heart of Oriental barbarism. The wildest dreams of the 'Arabian Nights' must

be surpassed by the sober realities of this prosaic nineteenth century in the imagination of the natives who gather eagerly to trade with the 'rolling community' during its too brief stay in their midst.

We must refer the reader to Dr. Lansdell's own pages for a remarkable account of the method by which Colonel Alikanoff secured the submission of Merv and extended the boundaries of the Russian Empire in defiance of the orders with which he was entrusted. No doubt, it is highly convenient for the government of the Tsar to have its hands occasionally forced by too zealous agents, whose action, if necessary, can be disavowed; but, however this additional territory was gained, Russian influence now extends far beyond it. Bokhara acts under the orders, euphemistically termed *the advice*, of the Russian resident, whose action is at present generally restricted to the protection of Russian subjects and the prohibition of slavery. There can be little doubt that the rule of the Muscovite is a real blessing to the wild regions over which it prevails. A great saving of human life—before the advent of the Russians they used to hang from 500 to 600 Turkomans a year in Bokhara—a great improvement in the imposition and enforcement of taxes, a great advance in security for person and property, and a rough and ready administration of justice, which, if occasionally somewhat arbitrary, is not ill-suited to the wild desert tribes, accompany the advance of the White Tsar's empire over Central Asia. What it means to the adventurous traveller who is so happy as to obtain high official recommendations, we have already partly learned, and Dr. Lansdell's experience amply justifies his adoption of the Russophile spirit in which he writes.

At the town of Tokmak, in Semirechia, on the extreme border of the Russian protectorate, Dr. Lansdell visited a newly excavated Christian cemetery of exceptional interest at the present time when the attention of English Churchmen has been directed to the Nestorian Church by the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission to the Assyrian Christians at Urmi, and when the reproduction of Christian inscriptions in old Syriac characters, found in 1625 at Siguan-fu in China, and of others discovered a century earlier near Madras, attests the singular missionary activity of the Nestorian community in the seventh and eighth centuries. We could have spared some of the more sensational of Dr. Lansdell's illustrations in exchange for photographs of these ancient tombstones, so many generations buried in regions where it was

little suspected that Christianity had ever penetrated. With one exception the epitaphs given in the work before us are exceedingly simple, as 'George, the priest superior of the Church'; or 'This is the grave of Julia, a graceful girl, betrothed to John, leader of the choir'; or 'The house of rest of Keritlug George.' The one only more elaborate example runs as follows: 'This is the tomb of Shelikha, the renowned interpreter of Scripture and preacher, who filled all the monasteries with light, the son of Peter the expounder. He was celebrated for wisdom, and his voice was sonorous as a trumpet. May our Lord unite his enlightened spirit to those of just men and the fathers! May every lustre be his portion!' (i. 112). We are not informed how many gravestones have been deciphered out of the hundreds of graves that bestrew the burial ground at Tokmak, but it is significant that the only one of any length contains a distinct prayer for the welfare of the dead.

The greatest feat of the author's outward journey was his crossing through the ice-pass of Muz-Davan, an achievement which Dr. Landsell thinks has not been before accomplished by any European. As he approached the Chinese frontier he was harassed with anxiety lest he should be forbidden to enter the Flowery Land, as well as with fears about his heavy baggage which had been despatched by another route to Kuldja and was seriously detained on the road. Armed though he was with English and Russian passports, he had been forewarned by both British and Chinese officials that his only chance, and that a very remote one, of being allowed to travel in China beyond the wall was to go and ask for permission in person from the Foreign Office at Peking, and there were delicate diplomatic negotiations just then pending which made it extremely improbable that such a request would be granted. Besides all these obstacles there was the difficulty of meeting with a trustworthy interpreter, as the traveller could only command a score or two of words in Russian and knew not one in Chinese; and when at last a desirable dragoman had been secured, he was for some unknown reason forbidden by the Russian picket to proceed across the border. The situation had become unquestionably critical. 'To go and knock at a remote back door of the Empire, kept by a few ignorant Chinese soldiers, to whom none of my people could speak a word of their language, looked rather formidable' (p. 150). There was no other course, however, but to put a bold face upon the matter; so Dr. Landsell begged for a couple of Cossacks as an escort to

Kuldja and made boldly for the gateway, built on the bridge which spans the Khorgos, that here forms the boundary between the Russian and Chinese territories.

'What the Cossacks said or did I know not ; but the great doors with "warders" or painted dragons flew open, my tarantass rolled majestically through, and in five minutes we were calmly driving through the fields of the Celestials, quizzing their pigtailed and feeling on excellent terms with ourselves and the world in general. This was success "number one" in China' (i. 151).

It was only by degrees that the traveller realised the changed condition of things upon which he had entered. So long as his route lay through territory either avowedly Russian or subject to the Russian protectorate, there was little danger to be apprehended ; but amongst the wild tribes that roam over the deserts of China beyond the wall the case was widely different. We need not wonder if suspicion attaches to the stranger who comes, without purpose of trade or sport, on an errand which to the nomad intellect is simply unintelligible. For what conceivable object, unless it be to spy out the land and to take them as bondsmen and their flocks, could a man leave all the advantages of civilized life to clamber up and down inaccessible ice-passes and spend weary days over trackless deserts ? Where scientific and religious enterprise are unknown, and the same letters spell stranger and foe ; where the appliances of modern life are unheard of and a photographic camera is a mystic and uncanny implement ; where the simplest inquiries of a European are on matters about which not a single living native feels the slightest interest, and the code of European morals is read upside down ; a somewhat creepy feeling will steal over the solitary explorer as he rides at the head of his caravan with whose members he can only speak through a single personal servant, and he more nearly allied by every tie of sympathy with them than with his master. The road, too, was suggestive of gloomy recollections, of the murders of Schlagintweit and Dalgleish—the latter as yet still unavenged. The passes were rudely cut over moraine and across morass where one false step might easily be fatal. More than all, the baggage of an English traveller and the money indispensable for expenses by the way would represent boundless wealth in a land so poor that the whole bazaar of more than one town could not provide a pound's worth of small change. How much of Dr. Lansdell's security was due to the protection afforded in consequence of the credentials he carried from high officials both Russian and Chinese, we cannot exactly



determine ; but from the beginning to the end of his travels he records not one single instance of dishonesty on the part of his only half-civilized attendants, and hardly one of discourtesy from the rulers of the many and divers kingdoms through which he passed.

The baggage indispensable for such an expedition as Dr. Lansdell had projected was in itself matter of no little premeditation and care, and at Kuldja it was necessary to overhaul his packages and arrange them for the caravan journey. They amounted to about fifty in number, and weighed nearly two tons.

‘Of food not much was taken from England, save essence of coffee, compressed tea, Liebig’s extract, meat lozenges, anchovy paste and marmalade (to render palatable indifferent bread and butter), and biscuits. In addition to these were purchased in Russia condensed coffee and cocoa with milk, compressed vegetables, extract of Russian berries, called *klukva*, recommended by Prjevalsky for drinking in tea ; also effervescing drinks for the teetotal Muhammedans, a few sweetmeats for children, curry powder and jam as adjuncts to rice ; and, lastly, flour, baking powder, butter, sugar, and cheese. Under the head of physic were included the drugs said to be needful for stocking a small medical mission for upwards of a year. . . . To these must be added fourteen dozen spectacles, kindly given by the late Dr. Grimke, four or five small cases of surgical instruments, and a magnetic machine. As for clothing, I had to provide against every degree of temperature between the Arctic cold of mountains 20,000 feet high and the heat of the plains of India—from a fur-lined ulster to a vest of gauze—whilst in quality my wardrobe had to range from a peasant’s sheepskin jacket for the road to court dress for St. Petersburg or the Viceroy’s palace at Calcutta. Added to this, it was desirable to have for my companions a small reserve in case of emergency, and as presents a few articles of English underclothing, such as woollen vests, said to be much valued by Chinese mandarins.’

To the usual items of furniture and kitchen utensils required for a long season of camping out there were added

‘all the horse requisites, from fodder and nose-bags down to spare shoes and nails. Books for reading were a serious question in the face of a contemplated absence of two years amongst people to whom one could not speak, and in regions beyond the range of travellers’ guide-books. I took the best topographical works available, a few books for the Tibetan and Turki languages, and some technical treatises on anthropology, medicine, surveying, and photography’ (pp. 188, 191).

An ample series of maps, a supply of stationery and arms, and a long list of presents—many of the latter being designed for barter amongst people who have no opportunity to spend

money, but who will gladly accept tea or broadcloth in exchange for provisions—completed the equipment. We should not omit to mention that transport of goods by parcel post was introduced into Russia long before we adopted it in England, and that printed matter and stationery are carried from St. Petersburg to Kuldja, a distance of 4,600 miles, at the rate of 4*d.* a pound.

The question of money was far more difficult to determine, as it involves, not only the safest means of transport, but the selection of a currency which should be acceptable in the remote districts to be traversed. The difficulty proved more serious than had been anticipated, as there were but few precedents by which Dr. Lansdell could be guided, and it was almost impossible to estimate the worth or the disinterestedness of the advice which was proffered him. So far as civilization extended it was all plain sailing, and a letter of credit was the simplest and least burdensome method of securing supplies. But all inquiries in London for such a medium of exchange in Chinese Turkestan proved fruitless, and the authorities at the General Post Office could furnish no information about a region which was entirely beyond the recognized boundaries of regular postal communication. Nor did the prospect brighten when the traveller reached St. Petersburg. No one could furnish a letter of credit upon Kashgar. At Junker's Bank they recommended Russian gold coins. 'Perhaps,' adds Dr. Lansdell, 'they had some to sell, for they quoted as a price nearly two roubles paper for one of gold' (i. 97). With insular British pride the Doctor thought English sovereigns would be as good as Russian gold coins all the world over, and rejected the recommendation, which would have been both costly and a blunder. Others said that 'lumps of brute silver' were the proper thing to take, but this, though correct, meant an addition of more than three hundredweight to the baggage. In obedience to a telegram from Kuldja, Russian paper money was finally decided on, and with some thousands of rouble notes in his pocket, his London letter of credit, fifty sovereigns, some rupee notes, and a London cheque, he departed from St. Petersburg. First Moscow and then Tiflis were vainly searched for a letter of credit on Kashgar. The only way to avoid carrying the money through a long, and possibly dangerous, route was to place it in the State Bank at Tiflis, to be transferred to Tashkend, payable at call.

At Tashkend, however, the perplexity was renewed. There the deposit was repaid in 100 rouble notes, and when

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these had been borne in safety over seven hundred miles to Jarkend, a local magnate of great wealth there gave an order on Suiting for a pood or thirty-six pounds avoirdupois of yambs or lumps of silver in exchange for 1,160 paper roubles.

'This was given me,' says Dr. Lansdell, 'at Suiting in several large "shoes," or lumps bigger than a closed fist, commonly spoken of as fifty *liang* each, and still smaller "shoes," the rest being made up of half-shoes, quarter-shoes, and odd pieces of various shapes and sizes. Furthermore, at Kuldja a miniature balance or steelyard of wood was obtained, about twelve inches long, so that I was to go to market, as did, I suppose, the patriarch Abraham, when he weighed to Ephron the silver which he had named in the audience of the children of Heth, 400 shekels of silver, current money with the merchant. One *liang*, it was said, was equal to ten *chian*, and each *chian* to ten *ping*, but all differing according to whether small, medium, or large scales were used. The custom on this point varied from place to place, whilst by way of nicely mixing up Russian, Chinese, and English ideas, it was explained that in a Russian *pood* were twenty-seven Chinese *jing*, which latter was about an English pound, the *jing* being divided into sixteen *ser*, or the approximate equivalent of an English ounce. So long as payments were of large amount all was tolerably simple, as when I paid Osman Bai thirty-five *liang* of silver. A few pieces were found of the right weight, which he received without question, and there ended the matter. But when payment for small purchases was required, then commenced such a complicated business as I had never before experienced' (i. 342, 343).

The paper rouble had to be exchanged for copper *chakra*, or cash, a coin about the size of a farthing, with a hole in the centre to allow of its being threaded on a string, and the rate of exchange seriously varied from day to day. Prices, too, were estimated in the name of obsolete coins which had been proscribed by official authority but retained their place in popular reckoning. The values of the several kinds of coinage, or of the uncoined lumps, was stated with delightful lack of precision, and, to make confusion worse confounded, the 'shoes' varied in purity of metal and afforded endless opportunity for the higgling so dearly loved in an Eastern bazaar. In short, the statement of account stood as follows :

'With English pounds were purchased roubles in London, St. Petersburg, and Tiflis, at a different price in each. At Jarkend roubles were turned into lumps of silver, of value differing according to their standard of purity. This silver purchased "cash" at prices varying from 475 to 350 to the ounce, after which what mathematician would undertake to state exactly in £ s. d. the price of an article purchased?

'Nor was the keeping accounts the only difficulty, for on sending to the bazaar for small change to the value of ten *liang* (or about 2*l.*) there were brought 4,750 coins on the back of a donkey! Subsequently, in Peking, this *embarras de richesse* was still worse, where ten *taels* brought nearly 30,000 cash; but at Aksu copper was scarce, and warning was given that at Kashgar the *liang* would bring less than 475 *chakra*. "Better then, I said, to buy some more here" (i. 344).

Accordingly change for another ten *liang* was sent for, but no one could be found throughout the city who possessed so much!

Where coin is so scarce the ordinary necessities of life are very cheap, if judged by a European standard, but even in Central Asia prices vary considerably. The lack of ordinary means of communication, and of the commerce existing in civilized communities, was made appreciable in a somewhat startling fashion when corn or forage cost five times as much as it had done a few stations previously, or when huge baskets of the most delicious fruits were purchased for a few halfpence. No doubt English travellers are expected to afford an ample profit, but Dr. Lansdell never appealed in vain to the authorities against attempted extortion, and we may well question whether any Central Asiatic divine would fare as well in the hands of British innkeepers and jobmasters. Besides, it was worth something to travel with the reputation which attached to our author. The imagination of the sons of the desert by whom he was conducted was fired with his description of bonny England, everywhere as green as the scanty oases on their track, so that they peremptorily commanded any passers by to descend and do homage—with fierce cries of 'Get down, get down—to the visitor from so glorious a paradise!' Turkish and Chinese governors alike were duly impressed with the importance of the Feringhee who was journeying on so mysterious an errand, and who scattered books and pictures, watches and decorations, in his path. By a happy inspiration Dr. Lansdell had brought some silver medals, and these caused infinite delight. 'I might have served the Russians for many years without obtaining a medal, and this Englishman has given me one in a few weeks,' was the remark of a gratified recipient. A nice discrimination in the scale of honours forms no part of the education of the Turki, and the most stolid of Chinese Tautai and Turkish Pashas were moved to civility towards an Englishman whose errand might be designed to prepare for the appropriation of the country by the strange people who rule India from the Hindu Kush to the ocean.

Dr. Lansdell draws a dark picture of Central Asia under Chinese rule, and supports it by the quotation of many Russian authorities. According to them, 'crying injustice, espionage, rapacity, grinding taxation, tyranny of officials,' are the characteristics of Chinese government. The worst class of Celestial administrators, whose sole object is to amass a fortune and get home again, is employed on a task which is regarded as a punishment, and the troops are recruited from criminal exiles and commit nameless enormities. Although English testimony runs counter to so black an indictment, Dr. Lansdell pointedly remarks that our fellow-countrymen are for the most part only occasional visitants, whereas the evidence of the Russians is that of consuls and others who have had long and intimate acquaintance with the country.

'The most painful statement, moreover, was the deliberately expressed opinion of an Englishman who had lived very many years in the north-west of China proper, and who went so far as to say that the Chinese there were the most wicked, filthy, and abominable people, he thought, upon the face of the earth. These were not the words of an enemy, for my informant said he had given his life for China' (ii. 241).

Amidst such conflicting testimony it is not easy to decide, but we fear it cannot be doubted that the Turkis have a hard life under the mandarins. Heavy taxation impoverishes them, and on occasions forced labour is extorted from large bodies of men who only receive an allowance for food of a halfpenny a day.

The description of the political condition of Chinese Central Asia naturally suggests a discussion of the question whether it is likely or feasible that Russia should take possession of the land. Dr. Lansdell asserts that he has never heard such a policy of annexation advocated in Russia, but of its possibility he entertains no doubt whatever. The Russian army is in a high state of discipline. Its territories are being rapidly provided with all the appliances of modern scientific utility which can promote military efficiency. Railways are being rapidly pushed forward along the lines of strategic attack and defence. Telegraphs precede them to the utmost boundaries of the regions under Russian influence. The movements of an army in Central Asia can be instantaneously reported to headquarters in St. Petersburg, and supports and supplies moved up as they are required. On the other hand, the Chinese troops are an undisciplined rabble. 'The same sort of things—arms, dresses, and all complete—may be witnessed in any Christmas pantomime.' They have

no telegraphs by which to send to Peking quickly for reinforcements, and, having no railway available, it would take them months to reach Kashgar. Such are, indeed, the present conditions, but as time passes on they may be largely modified. Dr. Lansdell, unquestionably honest and truthful as is his judgment, is inevitably, and it may be unconsciously, biassed in favour of the people at whose hands he has received so much kindness, and the Chinese are progressing with a rapidity and a capacity for adopting Western ideas that is almost phenomenal. Those who know them best regard them as *the* coming race, and their collision with one of the foremost European nations as a turning-point in the future history of mankind.

For the present, however, the Russians are far in advance of their Chinese neighbours, and they lose no opportunity of winning the good opinion of the scanty travellers in these most uninviting and remote regions which have so strangely become the object of envy and of too probable contention between the foremost nations of the world. How can anyone help looking upon Russian influence with friendly eyes who not only witnesses the blessings which even their imperfect civilization secures and contrasts them with the former insolence and cruelty of Muhammedan rule in Bokhara, but also experiences singular attention and kindness under conditions which impress them indelibly upon the memory?

'When the Governor-General,' writes Dr. Lansdell, directed Colonel Deubner that letters and telegrams sent for me to Osh were to be forwarded, it meant sending them by messenger about 250 miles to Kashgar; and, as if that were not enough, M. Petrovsky sent the one telegram I received 180 farther to Karghalik, or no less than 430 miles beyond the postal radius, and that without charge of any kind! As another example of these acts of courtesy, it may be added that a postcard sent to Mr. Littledale arrived in Ferghana after he had left for the Pamirs, whereupon, he tells me, this trifling communication was sent after him by messenger more than 200 miles! There may be other countries which would do more for a couple of passing travellers, but, if there are, I do not know them' (ii. 8).

Special interest attaches to everything connected with the plateau of the Pamirs, the strange mountain region which has been variously designated the *heart* and the *centre* of Asia, and at whose feet the three mightiest empires of the old world are gathering in ominous proximity. More than a thousand years ago they were traversed by Buddhist pilgrims, who spoke of their highlands with Oriental exaggeration as



rising to midway between earth and heaven, and described the ceaseless storm gusts and snowdrifts which alike in summer and winter sweep across their frozen and arid plains. How remote the Pamirs lie from the ordinary current of the world's affairs is illustrated by the fact that nothing is heard of them again for six centuries, when Marco Polo included them in his wanderings; and it was 300 years more before the next European traveller, Benedict Goes, 'with great difficulty and loss of animals,' crossed the plateau from Cabul to Yarkand.

'Once more follows a silence of more than two centuries, when Lieutenant Wood, in depth of winter 1838, pushed up the Pamirs from Badakshan. In 1861 the Government of India began to employ natives, partially trained in surveying, to travel in disguise through their border countries for the purpose of exploring. To these men largely belongs the honour of first making known to us scientifically the communications between India, the Pamir, and Chinese and Afghan Turkestan' (ii. 16).

We must refer the reader to Dr. Lansdell's pages for a more detailed account of the several districts comprised under the general name of Pamir. 'The plateau lies from 12,000 to 14,000 feet above the sea and is crossed in various directions by ranges, with a snow-line of 16,000 feet.' Far above the table-land tower the giant forms of mountains, such as Mustagh-Ata, 'the father of ice-mountains,' reaching an altitude of 25,800 feet; whilst several lakes diversify the scenery and reflect the panorama of snow-clad heights which surrounds them. The tangled mass of hill and dale, wherein the Oxus and other rivers take their rise, affords ample research for the scientific geographer, and at times fruitful discussion for diplomacy, in order to determine a scientific frontier between Russia and England upon 'the roof of the world.' Life in so storm-swept a region must be simply horrible, and would gladly (we should have thought) have been left to the Aryans, Turkis, and Mongols, who pasture their flocks in its valleys, save when some enthusiastic explorer like Fedchenko climbs its slopes, or some indomitable sportsman like Mr. Littledale invades its fastnesses in search of wild sheep—and in each case the explorer was accompanied by his wife on one of the most perilous journeys ever performed by a lady. *Dis aliter visum*. Political interest attracts travellers to the Pamir in increasing numbers. If the reader should be tempted to join them he should be aware that 'the climate is terribly severe, and the temperature reaches extraordinary extremes.' In March the thermometer has been known to vary from 73° in the sun to 10° below freezing-point in the shade at 9 A.M.; at

2 P.M. in the sun it was nearly  $100^{\circ}$ , but  $3^{\circ}$  below freezing in the shade; at 6 o'clock there were  $18^{\circ}$  of frost, and 9.20 P.M. the mercury fell several degrees below zero. In summer granular snow falls instead of rain, and even in August the mountain streams freeze to solid ice in the night. No wonder that among the hill tribes of the Pamir remnants of Zoroastrianism have been traced—in a reluctance to extinguish a light or to give hot food to a dog, in dancing round fires by torchlight, and using fire and light on medical and religious occasions. It must be natural to a people so circumstanced to adore fire!

After these remarks it is needless to add that the Pamirs are uninhabited in winter. In the summer Kirghese nomads drive up their cattle to feed upon the grass, which, up to 13,000 feet, is so thick and nourishing that a lean hack will grow fat on it in ten days. Criminal fugitives from justice, too, make 'the roof of the world' their hiding-place from the officials by whom they are wanted. They follow with the wild sheep as far as possible out of the range of firearms, and mount continually higher as the snow melts before them.

The moral and religious condition of Chinese Turkestan naturally occupies much space in Dr. Lansdell's pages, and the chronicle is a very mournful one. But little, if anything, is done by the Chinese for the education of the Kalmuks, and their intellectual development betrays deficiencies and tendencies doubtless inherited from their forefathers.

'Their memory for persons, places, and things that immediately strike the attention is more powerful than that of persons more civilized; whilst recollection of sounds and forms of language is weaker, and abstract conceptions are to them extremely difficult. Young scholars learn quickly mathematics better than languages. . . . As they advance towards their teens, they become idle and inattentive' (i. 257).

Buddhism does even less for them intellectually than the little Muhammedanism they practise does for the Kirghese, and the large proportion of celibate lamas results in immorality on the one hand and polygamy on the other.

It were too long for us to follow the story of mingled romance and history which records the religious revolutions of Chinese Central Asia, from Satuk, the first convert to the faith of Islam in the year 956, whose sword miraculously lengthened to forty yards, mowed down the ranks of the infidels, and whose breath changed to flame which consumed them wholesale, down to the latest Moslem defender of the faith, Yakub Khan, in 1865, who supplanted and deposed his master, poisoned his rivals, and perfidiously murdered those

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whom he had sworn to protect, but garnished with care the tombs of the martyrs, and for years never failed to pray five times daily. It is simply sickening to read of the enormities practised by Muhammed Khan, Ababakar, and others. Truly the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty, and Islam in Central Asia is no exception to the horrors of its rule elsewhere. With the caprice of a fanatic, Ababakar so far respected Moslem prejudice as to spare the lives of any mullahs who offended him, and then gratified his thirst for vengeance by setting them to tasks worse than death itself. Justice in Chinese Turkestan is said to be venal, its punishments barbarous, its exactions crushing. Education is practically non-existent, and morality unknown. How can morality survive where children are forced into marriages which are dissolved at pleasure, where a woman may without shame have more than a score of husbands, where girls have as many as twenty before their thirteenth year, and where the priests officiate at and consecrate such unions? Out of nearly 50,000 inhabitants at Aksu only 150 are at school, and in Kashgar printing is unknown. The depth of ignorance which prevails is incredible. An intelligent magistrate did not know what mustard was, or mint, or turpentine. Strange to say, the etiquette which allows the purchase of 'lawful wives' for a few hours forbids a woman to be photographed, even in private, and proscribes whistling as so highly improper, if not irreligious, that it is prohibited even to children. Yet if the people of Chinese Central Asia, sadly need both the schoolmaster and the missionary, it will need abundant faith and patience to wait for a harvest from so unpromising a soil.

'Arabia' (says Dr. Seeland) 'has produced its preachers, sages, poets, and architects; Persia its preachers, poets, and conquerors; Western Turkestan its warriors and savants; and India its thinkers and reformers. Even from among the nomad Mongols great conquerors have arisen, who by their savage energy have made the world tremble; but nothing intellectual has come out of the Tarim valley, on whose people is settled a crass ignorance and a complete lack of interest in everything ideal, unless, perhaps, a little in music' (ii. 219).

It would be impossible within our allotted space to do more than glance at Dr. Lansdell's account of his adventures in Little and Great Tibet. As we read of the gigantic mountain ranges which form their boundaries, of the deserts of Khotan, which skirt their northern borders, and whose shifting sands, on the testimony of their wandering tribes,

have buried 360 cities in twenty-four hours; and which, by Mr. Johnson's account, so darken the air, that it needs a lamp at noonday to read large type; of gulfs *more* profound than that Serbonian bog,

'Twixt Damietta and Mount Cassius old,  
Where armies whole have sunk,'

of the enormous areas over which the most stupendous forces of nature have exerted their utmost energy in distorting and upheaving the earth's crust into the most intricate and fantastic forms; and, added to all this, of the unwearied jealousy with which its Chinese masters have from time immemorial impeded all entrance of foreigners within their territories; the reader feels some alleviation and excuse for possible ignorance of a country which extends over 700,000 square miles, and is larger than Austria, France, and Spain put together.

'No other country in the world can boast of such a plethora of lofty mountain ranges and plateaus. The Himalayas form its southern scarp. On the west these ranges converge and lose themselves in the Pamir table lands, whilst on the east are the Yung Sing mountains of China' (ii. 280).

Every mode of access through these cyclopean barriers presents its own special difficulties, which, if not literally insurmountable, are of a nature which may bid defiance to the best-matured plans, though persisted in with undaunted pertinacity and courage. The exigencies of international negotiations may at the last moment upset the most carefully wrought out schemes of action. Rival authorities may, as in Mr. Lansdell's instance, recommend different routes, and a journey to Peking may eventuate in the advice to return to India and try the road across the Himalayas. Even then at the last moment the long-expected permission was refused, and the attempt to enter Lassa ended in failure.

It was long, however, before Dr. Lansdell was fully convinced that entrance into Lassa was for the present utterly hopeless. He had tried every conceivable method of approach, had sounded all the authorities, English, Russian, and Chinese, who could possibly further his enterprise, had consulted every available missionary institution, and had all the best counsel which sympathetic counsellors could supply; and had finally, in the character of 'a humble lama,' concocted a wonderful epistle to the Grand Lama of Thibet, couched in the flowery language deemed appropriate for such a missive, and supported with a recommendation from the Arch-

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bishop of Canterbury, who had no slight misgivings about the propriety of the chief officer of a Christian Church thus addressing a non-Christian hierarch. But blandishments and entreaties were all in vain. The moment selected was not propitious, and the English diplomatists feared that some pending negotiations might be injuriously influenced if Dr. Lansdell persevered. With a bold front and with a well-armed escort (so it was asserted) one might travel anywhere in Tibet; but not with the expressed permission of the Chinese governors. Even their own mandarins, they politely stated, had been discreetly warned not to enter Lassa, lest Englishmen should demand a similar concession.

In one of his concluding chapters Dr. Lansdell draws out at some length the position and prospects of missions in Chinese Turkestan. In the absence of living agents—the priests and sisters of the Catholic Church—to spread the Gospel in these benighted regions, he adopted the only means at his disposal, and dispersed by sale or gift copies of the Bible through five countries in eleven different languages, and that in places where no other kindred agency was at work. Small trace was found of the Moslem fanaticism which he was warned might be stirred at the circulation of the Scriptures. Buddhist lama and Muhammadam mullah were alike ready to accept or to purchase copies; and the only hindrance to further work of this kind was the lack of more books or of translations into some of the Central Asian tongues. Of all such efforts we can only say most cordially *valeant quantum*. Who can tell amid the surrounding darkness, how far Divine Grace may bless the light thus kindled, and make it effectual until the Church rises to a deeper sense of her responsibility to Central Asia.

For, as Dr. Lansdell truly observes,

‘It is a saddening thought that Chinese Turkestan should have been visited by men in tattered robes, who, by self-denial and persuasiveness, could win the country for Buddha; that in other ages the followers of the false prophet should have subjugated the valley to Muhammed; whilst the Christian Church should have done less than either to carry her greater blessings to this mountain-girt valley. . . . What might be said as to the possibilities there for mission work? The country has been gained for Buddha and conquered for Muhammed: why should it not again be won for Christ? In speaking upon the subject to M. Petrovsky he was sanguine that a well-organized English or Russian mission would succeed in Chinese Turkestan, and he said he had written on the subject to the Archbishop of Vierny’ (ii. 344, 345).

In concluding our notice of Dr. Lansdell's volumes we must advertise the reader that we have perforce omitted all mention of some entire classes of topics which their author handles. We have passed over his summaries of the earlier history of the regions which he traversed, and of the different authors who have described them. We have no room for the bibliographic lore, the fruit of long and careful research, of priceless value to the future historian or traveller through Chinese Central Asia and essential to a work of standard authority concerning it, but somewhat wearisome, perhaps, to the average reader. Those who delight in the study of the remoter fields of natural history, and of the distribution both of fauna and flora over the surface of the globe, may pore here over lists of butterflies and beetles such as will kindle the envy of the ardent entomologist, and may be roused to enthusiasm over the discovery of a hitherto unknown fish—the *Diptychus Lansdelli*—as a κτῆμα ἐς αἰῶν for the annals of ichthyology. All such matters are rightly detailed in the ample appendices to the second volume.

As a missionary pioneer, Dr. Lansdell sums up his conclusions upon the countries he visited as follows :

‘I find Tibet, Nepal, Bhotan, and (perhaps) Chinese Turkestan, without Christian missionaries. Missionaries (especially medical), translators and Bible colporteurs, should, I think, be set to work at once in Chinese Turkestan, but into Tibet, Bhotan, and Nepal I see no opening at present. Next, I found the Ili valley, Cambodia, Cochin China, Annam, Tonking, and the Philippines, in the hands exclusively of Roman missionaries. Translators are needed for all these regions, and more missionaries, as also perhaps a chaplain for the European residents at Manila. The next group of kingdoms consists of Ladak, Sikkim, and Siam, where there are Protestants and Moravians at work ; but where, I think, Church of England missionaries would be welcomed’ (ii. 407).

One glance at the map over the places here named should suffice to stir the Church to increased missionary zeal. The harvest is plenteous, the field practically boundless ; how long through our faithless neglect shall the labourers be so miserably few ?



## ART. V.—THE GELASIAN SACRAMENTARY.

*The Gelasian Sacramentary: Liber Sacramentorum Romanæ Ecclesiæ.* Edited, with Introduction, Critical Notes, and Appendix, by H. A. WILSON, M.A., Fellow of St. Mary Magdalen College. With two Facsimiles. (Oxford, 1894.)

THE end of the nineteenth century seems likely to see no abatement of the interest in liturgical studies first aroused in this age and country by Dr. Lloyd, while Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, and afterwards Bishop. Across the Channel a work of first-rate importance, Abbé Duchesne's *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, appeared about five years ago; and it was soon followed by a valuable history of the Breviary, written by Abbé Batiffol in the clearest manner, and containing all the information on the subject known with any certainty up to the present moment. Now at Oxford Mr. Wilson has produced a work worthy of the best traditions of his university. Foreign scholars have for some time considered a new and critical edition of the Gelasian Sacramentary to be one of our pressing liturgical needs. They will welcome the book before us, which has been brought out in a manner that leaves to the critic little but the agreeable duty of praise.

The history of the editions of the Gelasian Sacramentary will be known to most of our readers interested in liturgical matters. It was first printed by the Blessed Joseph Maria Tomasi, more than two hundred years ago, from a manuscript in the library of the Queen of Sweden, which is now in the Vatican, *Reginæ* 316. Since the days of Cardinal Tomasi, two more Gelasian manuscripts have become known to scholars; a third, a triple sacramentary, containing an Ambrosian, Gregorian, and Gelasian text, employed by Dom Martin Gerbert as the basis of his book, cannot now be traced. The loss of this manuscript, however, is the less to be regretted because it is evident that the Gelasian part had actually been copied from the St. Gall manuscript, one of the manuscripts which Mr. Wilson has employed for this edition. Dom Martin Gerbert's *Monumenta Veteris Liturgiæ Alemannicæ* appeared in 1777, and the edition is by no means satisfactory, so that it was necessary to go over the whole of the work again. Mr. Wilson, therefore, obtained a fresh collation of the manuscript in the Vatican, to which he gives the symbol V., and which supplies the text of the present edition. The

two other Gelasian manuscripts from Zürich (R.) and St. Gall (S.) were brought over to Oxford, and deposited in the Bodleian Library during the preparation of the edition. The variants of these two later manuscripts, and of some other liturgical texts already printed, are given at the end of each section of the edition; while in the margin appear the symbols or names of the early sacramentaries in which the same formularies are to be found. These notes represent a prodigious amount of pains and learning; and Mr. Wilson has earned for years to come the gratitude of all students of the early sacramentaries.

V. appears to be the oldest copy of the Gelasian Sacramentary known. M. Léopold Delisle thinks that it may be of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century.<sup>1</sup> R. and S. the same high authority assigns to the eighth century.<sup>2</sup> But even V. cannot be looked upon as a pure Roman text. It was written for use in the Frankish dominions, perhaps for the Abbey of St. Denys, and it already contains Gallican elements, as Abbé Duchesne has pointed out.<sup>3</sup> We gather from Mr. Wilson that R. also contains some Gallican matter, but that the text of S. is comparatively free from non-Roman elements, though both R. and S. are arranged more like the Gregorian Sacramentary than V. On the other hand, in the text of particular prayers they often agree with V. In S. a correcting hand has passed over the manuscript, and often brought it into conformity with the Gregorian. An example of these corrections may be seen in the facsimile of S. opposite the title-page. Here in the Gelasian text of S. we have a post-communion for the feast of SS. Peter and Marcellinus: 'Quæsumus Domine ut salutaribus repleti mysteriis quorum solemnia celebramus orationibus adiuvemur.' The correcting hand has struck out *ut* after *Domine* and inserted *ut* between *mysteriis* and *quorum*, thus bringing the post-communion into accord with the text of the Gregorian post-communion for the feast of St. Prisca.

Mr. Wilson's opinion of the relation of the manuscripts seems to be something like this. The text of R. and S. agrees in the main with that of V., but the distribution of the prayers in R. and S. is different, and approaches that of the Gregorian books; while the correcting hand of S. (which Mr. Wilson calls S<sup>2</sup>.) has brought the text of S. into close agreement with

<sup>1</sup> Léopold Delisle, *Mémoire sur d'anciens Sacramentaires*, 1886, p. 68. (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, t. xxxii.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* pp. 83 and 84.

<sup>3</sup> L. Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, Paris, 1889, p. 125.

the Gregorian books. So that S. may be said to form a link between the Gelasian and the Gregorian Sacramentaries.

The order of growth Mr. Wilson would apparently conceive to be as follows:

1. An old Roman Sacramentary combined with some Gallican elements. (V.)

2. The same Sacramentary revised and re-arranged, probably with some additions. (R. and S.)

3. This revised Roman Sacramentary, of which R. and S. may be said to be representative, further revised in text as well as in arrangement, gave birth to the pattern-book which Hadrian sent to Charles the Great: and this is represented in the first part of the Gregorian Sacramentary; but the second part of the Gregorian Sacramentary is probably taken direct from the Gelasian Sacramentary of the type of R. and S., with a few corrections in the text.

4. A later stage in the Gregorian books is reached when the second part is not separated from the first, but blended with it, as in Sacramentaries like the Leofric Missal.

With these conclusions Mr. Wilson ends his carefully written preface, and he shows great wisdom in not striving to push inferences any further. There do not seem any better grounds now than in the days of the great Cardinal Tomasi for the determination of the question whether the book before us be the Gelasian Sacramentary which we know was in use in Gaul in the ninth century under this name. The exact relations between the Gelasian and the Gregorian Sacramentaries are still obscure, and Mr. Wilson is quite justified in refusing to pronounce any decided opinion upon the genealogy of the two Sacramentaries. What is the age of the book before us? V. would certainly seem to give us a text before the time of Gregory II. (715-731), just as R. and S. would seem to give a text after this date. Gregory II. was the first to authorize Mass to be said on Thursdays; in the primitive Church it was forbidden to celebrate the Eucharist on this day, and V. contains no Masses for the Thursdays in Lent, while R. and S. do. Again, V. with R. and S. contains Masses for the supernumerary days at the beginning of Lent, and it is commonly held that these days were not incorporated in Lent until after the time of Gregory the Great, though it must be admitted that Cardinal Tomasi, even if almost alone among ritualists, holds that it is not true that Ash-Wednesday was instituted after the time of Gregory the Great.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. M. Thomasii *Opera omnia*, Romae, 1754, t. vii. p. 187. The arrangement of the *Communiones* in the Gregorian antiphoner must

Space will not allow us to go step by step over the whole of the collects which form so large a portion of the Gelasian Sacramentary, and which are common to it with the Gregorian Sacramentary and our Book of Common Prayer. Leaving, however, these variable parts of the service, we may examine a little more at length the fixed and unchanging, and therefore highly important, element in the celebration of the Eucharist—that is, the ancient formulary which is now known as the canon of the Mass. This of course forms the every-day part of the Gelasian service, and of it V. gives one of the earliest copies known, which, it has been said, is in all likelihood as early as the seventh century. For some reason which does not appear, perhaps mere want of knowledge, Luther and his followers fell with much violence upon the canon, calling it *lacer et abominabilis ex multorum lacunis ceu sentina collectus*, and classing it with offertories and mercenary collections of money, with the proses and farcings inserted in *Gloria* and *Sanctus*.<sup>1</sup> Nowadays scholars are disposed to look upon the canon as one of the most ancient liturgical documents that we possess. Orientalists have even expressed the opinion that the structure of some of its sentences indicates a translation from a Semitic language.<sup>2</sup> Be this as it may, there are few persons in the present day who incline to the opinion that the canon and its adjuncts are the work of the monks in the later Middle Ages.

We have sentences which look exceedingly like quotations, or which the writer himself tells us are quotations, from the canon, in works of the sixth century; and St. Gregory the Great asserts that the prayer which is called the canon was composed by a *Scholasticus*. There is a mediæval tradition that this *Scholasticus* was Pope Gelasius (492-496). Others attribute it to Voconius, a Numidian bishop. There is thus a tradition which points to Africa as the source of the canon, for St. Gelasius was 'Afer natione,' and we know that the African liturgy, now lost, resembled the Roman in one important detail, which is believed to be particular to the Roman rite—namely this, that the kiss of peace was given after consecration and immediately before communion, while in all other liturgies the kiss of peace is given at the offertory, almost certainly have been made after Ash-Wednesday was added to Lent, and before Gregory II. (*Un mot sur l' 'Antiphonale Missarum,'* Solesmes, 1890.)

<sup>1</sup> See H. A. Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiæ Lutheranae*, Lipsiæ, 1848, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Durandus asserts that in the primitive Church the Divine mysteries were celebrated in Hebrew. (*Rationale*, lib. iv. cap. i. § 10.)

before the anaphora. Did this African liturgy, on the cessation of the Greek language as the language of the Church of Rome, become the Latin liturgy of the Church of Rome in the fourth century, or later?

On examination we find that the variations in the early manuscripts of the Gregorian canon are far greater than one would be led to expect from the repeated assertions of the Roman ritualists that the canon has not been touched since the time of Gregory the Great. As a matter of fact, some clauses show abundant variations—so many and so great that they cannot all be dealt with in a review of a book. From the necessity of the case Mr. Wilson can collate only a small number of manuscripts of the Gelasian Sacramentary, but even these show by his notes that the variations are neither few nor unimportant.<sup>1</sup>

Comparing, then, the Gelasian with the Gregorian canon, we find that the Gregorian Sacramentary gives a short account of the *Missa Catechumenorum* before the canon; it speaks of the anthem at the introit, *Kyrie eleison*, *Gloria in excelsis*, the collect, the apostle (*i.e.* the epistle), the gradual and its alleluia, the gospel, the offertory, and the prayer over the gifts, with the concluding words of which the introduction to the canon ends. Thus, with the help of the full description of the ceremonial given in the appendix of Duchesne,<sup>2</sup> or by *Ordo Romanus I.* of Mabillon, we can picture to ourselves with considerable accuracy a celebration of the Eucharist at Rome about the time of Charles the Great. But there is no such introduction to the Gelasian canon, which appears in the midst of ferial Masses. Immediately after the words *Incipit canon actionis* comes *Sursum corda*, and we do not know of any document descriptive of the Mass in the seventh century which will fit in well with the Gelasian service. We may notice in all the manuscripts of the Gelasian Sacramentary the absence of the salutation *Dominus vobiscum*, which is always present in the Gregorian canon. A salutation of some kind before *Sursum corda* seems to be almost as ancient and widespread as *Sursum corda* itself. It is either 'the Lord be with you' or 'The grace of our Lord,' as at the end of our mattins and evensong. It would seem a likely opinion that in the Gelasian service a salutation was made before the solemn prayer began, but that it has not been set down.

<sup>1</sup> Domenico Georgi (*De Liturgia Romani Pontificis*, Romæ, 1744, t. iii. pp. xli. and 537) pointed out in the middle of the last century some of the most important.

<sup>2</sup> *Origines*, p. 439.

Then between *Sanctus* and *Te igitur* we notice that there is no division, but that the text runs on without a break in V.<sup>1</sup> Some stress has been laid upon *igitur* as evidence that in former times there was a clause before it, to which *igitur* referred. It would seem, however, to be purely resumptive after *Sanctus*. The Almighty Father is invoked in the early part of *Vere dignum*, and the celebrant turns aside to speak of Christ our Lord, through whom the blessed seraphim are able to sing their *Sanctus*, and, beginning again to implore the Eternal Father, *igitur* naturally appears resumptive of the early part of the preface. *Igitur* occurs later in the canon, in the clause beginning *Hanc igitur oblationem*, and has here also the same resumptive force after the commemoration of the saints. Another argument is the washing of hands,<sup>2</sup> and the prayers after *Sanctus* which some rites direct.<sup>3</sup> But these appear not to be primitive or part of the original canon; they are mere private prayers for the priest to use at his discretion; and for this opinion there is one good reason, that they are not in the first person plural, but in the first person singular. And where this is not the case, as at Besançon, the prayers are of such a kind that they must be later interpolations, as *Veni Sancte Spiritus* and *In spiritu humilitatis et in animo contrito*, &c.<sup>4</sup> In some manuscript missals of the monks of the Charterhouse *De latere Domini* precedes this latter.

The first clause of the Gelasian canon which begins *Te igitur* shows few variations either in the manuscripts collated by Mr. Wilson or in those of the Gregorian. It is at the end of the clause *inprimis* that marked variations begin to show themselves. V. ends with the prayer for the pope and the bishop, which latter R. and S. omit, as do several Gregorian manuscripts, and in none of the original texts of these manuscripts does the clause 'et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicæ et apostolicæ fidei cultoribus' appear, though added by later hands. This clause has been criticized as superfluous, because

<sup>1</sup> See the facsimile of the page in the *Planches*, No. III., which accompany Monsieur Delisle's *Mémoire sur d'anciens Sacramentaires*.

<sup>2</sup> *Missale Moguntin.* 1482. *Id.* Mogunt. 1602, Lippius. We do not know if Bishop Andrewes were acquainted with this custom at Mentz, but he was accustomed to wash his hands immediately before the prayer of consecration. At Milan the priest washes his hands immediately before the words of institution.

<sup>3</sup> Amongst others, see the Toledo Missal of 1551, fo. cxxxviii. *Missale . . . ecclesie Traiectensis.* 1514. Ioannes Severinus Leidensis. Cf. Martène and Durand, *Voyage littéraire* (Paris, 1717), partie i. p. 274.

<sup>4</sup> *Missale ad usum ecclesie Bisuntine*, Parisiis, Fr. Regnault, 1530. Cf. a Pontifical of Metz, fifteenth century, National Library, Paris, Lat. 1223, fo. 20.

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the Catholic Church has already been prayed for; and its absence from the early manuscripts, both of the Gelasian and Gregorian canon, would strengthen the opinion that it is an interpolation, though it has now made good its position in the modern canon.

The end of this clause is no uncommon place for interpolations in the Gregorian canon, of which we may give one as a specimen that is already in print, and which is found in a twelfth-century Sicilian missal,<sup>1</sup> as follows: 'Mihi quoque indignissimo famulo tuo propitius esse digneris, et me cum his omnibus a cunctis munda delictis, ut vitæ huius prospera, et æternam gloriam percipere merear. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Memento Domine,' &c. In this first Memento there is a favourite place for a personal interpolation which Martène and Durand noticed,<sup>2</sup> and a specimen of which we may give from a printed Sicilian missal. After 'famulorum famularumque tuarum' come these words: '*Hic recitantur nomina parentum et familiarium vivorum.* Necnon et eorum omnium qui mihi consanguinitate, familiaritate vel confessione et oratione iuncti sunt et omnium circumstantium atque omnium fidelium Christianorum quorum tibi fides,' &c.

In *Communicantes* appears no infrequent insertion after 'Cosmæ et Damiani' of the following: 'et omnium sanctorum tuorum quorum solemnitas hodie in conspectu tuæ maiestatis celebratur domine deus noster toto in orbe terrarum et omnium sanctorum tuorum quorum meritis et precibus,' &c.

The clause *Diesque nostros*, traditionally ascribed to St. Gregory, appears in the Gelasian canon, with no marks of insertion or interpolation in the manuscripts known. The name of St. Gregory appears among the confessors commemorated in *Communicantes* of V. The letters have been erased, but the writing can still be made out.

*Fregit* is found in the Gelasian canon amongst the words of institution; but there are some few Gregorian manuscripts in which it does not occur. At first it might seem that the omission of the word is a mere scribal error; but it appears in very early as well as in later manuscripts. There are not many Eastern liturgies in which the word is absent, but it is not to be found in those of Æthiopia.

There is a noteworthy variation in the canon of the Ambrosian books after the words of institution which end with

<sup>1</sup> See I. de Ioanne, *De divinis Siculorum Officiis*, Panormi, 1736, p. 423.

<sup>2</sup> Martène and Durand, *Voyage littéraire*, Paris, 1724, iii. 206. For other variations see also i. 274, ii. 114, 152, iii. 40.

'in remissionem peccatorum.' The Ambrosian canon adds : 'Mandans quoque et dicens ad eos. Hæc quotienscumque feceritis in meam commemorationem facietis : mortem meam prædicabitis, resurrectionem meam adnuntiabitis, adventum meum sperabitis donec iterum de cælis veniam ad vos.'<sup>1</sup> As far as we know, these words do not occur in any Gregorian or Gelasian manuscript. But they supply a resemblance in the canon, not only to the words which occur in the Mozarabic liturgy, but to a clause found often in the Oriental liturgies. It seems a plausible suggestion that these words were in the document which was a common ancestor to the Ambrosian and Gregorian canons, but that by some chance they have dropped out of the Gregorian.

One of the most interesting, and perhaps one of the most important, of the variations in the Gregorian canon is to be found in *Unde et memores*, immediately after the words of institution. Before the commemoration of the passion and resurrection a clause appears commemorating the nativity. It runs as follows : 'Unde et memores Domine nos servi tui sed et plebs tua sancta eiusdem Christi Filii tui Domini Dei<sup>2</sup> nostri tam adorandæ [some MSS. read venerandæ, others sanctæ] nativitatis quam et beatæ passionis nec non et ab inferis resurrectionis,' &c. This clause does not occur in any of the Gelasian manuscripts, but it is of no infrequent occurrence in the Gregorian. It may be found in several mediæval missals ; and it even persists after the invention of printing, as the edition of the missal of the monks of Vallombrosa, printed in 1503, and the Sicilian missals, printed from 1480 onward, testify. It is a variant noticed and condemned by Micrologus<sup>3</sup> as superfluous, just as he condemns the clause 'omnibus orthodoxis,' which is now, however, received by all the Roman ritualists.

When this variant was shown to the late Mr. Henry Bradshaw, he exclaimed that it must, indeed, be the original reading of the canon ; and this view is supported by the fact that some of the Oriental liturgies commemorate the nativity

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Ceriani's *Missale Ambrosianum Vetus*, p. 171, an edition of the Biasca manuscript, a document of the ninth or tenth century. They occur also in the canon of the Ambrosian missal, which is in use in the diocese of Milan at this day.

<sup>2</sup> This word 'Dei' has dropped out of the modern canon, though it appears in the Gelasian. Some have thought it an insertion of the time of the Arians as a protest against their errors, just as they think that the same word was inserted in 'Communicantes' after 'Virginis Mariæ genitricis' to counteract the heresies of Nestorius.

<sup>3</sup> Micrologus, *De ecclesiasticis Observationibus*, cap. xiii.

at the same place. The Coptic liturgy of St. Gregory runs almost like the Roman canon: 'Et nunc etiam, Domine, memoriam agimus decensus tui ad terram et mortis tuæ vivificantis,' &c.;<sup>1</sup> while in the Syriac liturgies, not only are the nativity and incarnation mentioned, but the events of Our Lord's life are set forth, sometimes at great length.<sup>2</sup> In the Mozarabic liturgy the creed is found in this place, soon after consecration, while in other liturgies it appears before or after the ceremonies of the offertory. Has the creed here any relation to the long commemoration of the events in Our Lord's life which the Syriac liturgies contain, and which we may see in embryo in this variant of the canon commemorating the nativity?

The words 'sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam,' which are attributed to St. Leo, are found in all the Gelasian manuscripts, nor does there seem any prominent manuscript which wants them. A curious insertion appears in the Sicilian manuscript after these words. It is: 'Sancte Sanctorum Deus miserere nobis. *Dicitur ter.*' In the same place—that is, before the epiclesis—there is a like interjection by the people as well as by the priest in the liturgy of St. James. Similar ejaculations may be found in the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, the Coptic liturgy of St. Cyril, and almost universally in the Syriac liturgies, as an introduction to the solemn epiclesis. It would almost seem that the hand which inserted these words in the Gregorian canon must have grasped the idea that *Supplices* was the epiclesis in that liturgy.

The place which the Roman epiclesis now takes in the Gregorian canon was attributed by the late Mr. Ffoulkes to Amalarius, a ritualist who flourished at the beginning of the ninth century. Now V. is the earliest Gelasian canon known, and it was not written, at the latest, after the beginning of the eighth century—that is, a hundred years before Amalarius. V., with all the other manuscripts, Gelasian or Gregorian, yet discovered, gives the Roman epiclesis in the same place that it has in the modern canon of to-day. Its present place, therefore, could hardly be the work of Amalarius, if the judgment of such an expert in palæography as M. Léopold Delisle be accepted.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Ffoulkes's conclusions

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. Renaudot, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, Parisiis, 1716, t. i. p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Amongst others in the second volume of Renaudot see the liturgies of St. Maruta, of Dioscorus, and of Philoxenus, Bishop of Bagdad.

<sup>3</sup> It seems necessary to refer to this almost forgotten work of the late

have really no manuscript authority, and they remind us somewhat of the results not unfrequently offered us by the 'higher criticism.' On the other hand, it must be allowed that the late Mr. Ffoulkes did good service in pointing out in this country the existence of an epiclesis in the Roman canon, even if, as Abbé Duchesne remarks,<sup>1</sup> it is so different from, and almost contrary to, the epicleses of the Orientals; and in showing that 'per manus angeli tui' may be the Holy Ghost, not St. Michael, as at least one manuscript affirms. For the opinion that 'angelus' is the Third Person of the Holy Trinity there is evidence in a liturgical variant, not quoted by Mr. Ffoulkes, found in a Roman book edited by the great Cardinal Tomasi. It is an *Infra actionem* on Christmas Day, which begins: 'Emitte Angelum [*variant*: Spiritum Sanctum] tuum Domine et dignare [*variant adds*: nobis] sanctificare corpus et sanguinem tuum [*add*? quod] nos frangimus Domine; tu dignare benedicere,' &c.<sup>2</sup>

In V., at the end of this epiclesis, there is *Amen*, the only *Amen* before the end of the canon. This *Amen* appears in the other manuscripts of the Gelasian canon, though it is absent in many Gregorian manuscripts. Also in V. it would seem that a break in the canon occurs at this place; for, though in Mr. Wilson's edition the rest of the canon is in one continuous paragraph from *Vere dignum* to this *Amen*, yet at *Nobis quoque*, which follows the *Amen* immediately, there is a fresh line. In the modern service, it may be remembered, the priest saying *Nobis quoque* raises his voice so as to be heard by those around. Is this a relic of the time when the second Memento had not yet been inserted, and when the passage from the epiclesis to *Nobis quoque* was marked in this way?

The *Amen* is no doubt akin to the *Amen* in the Oriental liturgies after the epiclesis, and it would seem to denote the completion of the act of consecration.

The second Memento, for the departed, is absent in V. and Mr. Ffoulkes, because a 'second edition, revised and indexed,' is advertised. We have compared the edition of 1885 with this so-called 'second' edition, and find that the chapters of the two books are line for line and page for page the same; the errata of the press are the same, and the old errors are uncorrected, though a new title and preface and an index of names, nearly worthless for its purpose, have been added. There is no other change. How such a book can be said to be 'revised' we cannot imagine.

<sup>1</sup> Duchesne, *Origines*, p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> *Jos. M. Thomasii Opera*, Romæ, 1750, ed. Vezzosi, t. v. p. 19. Cf. H. Menard, *Divi Gregorii Liber Sacramentorum*, Parisiis, 1642, p. 265.

S. of the Gelasian manuscripts, and it is also absent in some Gregorian manuscripts. R. inserts a clause not unlike the present Memento; and the same codex has a commemoration of the departed in the middle of the commemoration of the living in the first Memento, as part of the original writing, not an addition by a later hand, after the words 'incolumitatis suæ.' Many liturgies commemorate under one head the living and the departed; and the particular place in which the prayer for the departed appears in R. seems very suitable, immediately after the prayer for the living, and followed immediately by the commemoration of the Mother of our Lord and God, with other saints, apostles, and martyrs. Was then the original place for the commemoration of the departed in the canon that given by R.? Mr. Wilson expressly states that this clause in R. is not an addition or interpolation, whatever were the case in the earlier manuscript that R. has followed. It may be, therefore, that in the original canon the intercessions for the living and departed were joined together, and were followed immediately by the commemoration of the saints; for which arrangement there would be very good liturgical authority in the Oriental rites. It would be strange if the Gelasian canon should be found to contain no intercession for the departed: and the text of R. supplies a place in which it seems quite in accordance with liturgical propriety that the intercession should once have been.

Before the second Memento may be found inserted in a good number of Gregorian manuscripts the following prayer of the priest for himself:—

'Memento mei quæso Domine, et miserere, licet hæc sancta indigne tibi sancte Pater omnipotens æterne Deus meis manibus offerantur sacrificia, qui nec invocare sanctum ac venerabile nomen tuum dignus sum. Sed quoniam in honore, laude, et memoria gloriosissimi dilecti Filii tui Domini nostri Iesu Christi offeruntur, sicut incensum in conspectu divinæ maiestatis tuæ cum odore suavitatis accendantur. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum.

These notes on the variations to be found in manuscripts of the canon show but a small proportion of those which may be discovered by a collation of the earlier Gregorian Sacramentaries. It is to be hoped that Mr. Wilson may soon find time to continue his researches into the text of the canon and to give them to the world.

At the end of the Gelasian Sacramentary Mr. Wilson prints an appendix by which it is easy to see the arrangement of the services in the Swiss manuscripts, which, it has been noted, do not follow the same order that the Vatican does.

Each Mass is indicated by the first words of the collects and preface, so that it can be readily compared with the Masses from other sacramentaries. This scheme of skeleton Masses will, it seems, be found very useful to the student in the reproduction of Sacramentaries, and even of more modern missals.

Those who have introduced of late years the singing of *Agnus Dei* during the communion of the celebrant may note that this anthem is not found in the Gelasian canon nor in many of the earliest Gregorian. It is agreed that it is a late addition to the service, possibly after the beginning of the middle ages.

One point we may note in the Swiss manuscripts, of which we have already spoken, the presence of Masses for the Thursdays in Lent. Until the time of Gregory II. celebrations of the Eucharist on Thursdays were forbidden. Now it is strange that we should see amongst ourselves in the revival of a more frequent celebration of the Eucharist, which is worthy of all praise, that too often there has been chosen for its celebration the very day which the primitive Church forbade. Surely the old 'station' days, Wednesdays and Fridays, are the proper days for the Eucharist on weekdays. In our own Sarum missal, in the weeks after Trinity, it is Wednesday, *Feria quarta*, to which a Mass is assigned. When weekday celebrations were introduced at St. Andrew's, Wells Street, during the incumbency of the late Mr. Benjamin Webb, Wednesdays and Fridays, not Thursdays, were chosen there. And Mr. Webb's excellence of judgment in liturgical matters is not to be disputed.

Let us end by congratulating the Clarendon Press on a return to its encouragement of liturgical studies. We trust before long to welcome also another edition of Mr. Hammond's *Liturgies Eastern and Western*; and the Oxford Theological School will then be furnished with two handbooks which will be second to none that have appeared in our time for the help of university students of liturgy.

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## ART. VI.—SANDAY'S BAMPTON LECTURES ON INSPIRATION.

*Inspiration.* Eight Lectures on the Early History and Origin of the Doctrine of Biblical Inspiration, being the Bampton Lectures for 1893. By W. SANDAY, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Dean Ireland's Professor of Exegesis, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. (London, 1893.)

THE will of the late Rev. John Bampton, Canon of Salisbury, provides that the eight Divinity Lecture Sermons shall be preached upon certain specified subjects, one of them being 'the Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures.' Accordingly, Professor Sanday undertook to deal with this subject in 1893, especially in view of the great advance made during recent years in Biblical Criticism. In his Preface he disclaims for his lectures 'the character of a monograph.' 'Their aim has been rather to furnish a general view which shall cover as far as possible the data, at once new and old, which go to determine the conception which thoughtful men would form of the Bible' (pp. ix, x). He acknowledges his indebtedness to the Introductions of Driver and Cornill for the Old Testament, and to Holtzmann's Introduction for the New Testament, besides other recent works published in England and in Germany. Lecture III. is specially attributed to the influence of Dr. E. König; but Professor Sanday is conscious of having criticized most freely the writings of German scholars, although he is sensible of the amount that he owes to them. His position in regard to the Old Testament is 'tentative and provisional'; he does not claim to speak as a Hebraist, but accepts the judgment of those whom he considers to have the right to speak with authority, though he reserves the right to criticize their conclusions; and he anticipates that the tendency of criticism will be to become 'more conservative than it has been.' In regard to the New Testament, Professor Sanday is of course entitled to speak with great authority. His own past labours, and his unceasing activity in the present, make him a critic whom few would dare lightly to challenge; and in this volume his exposure of some of the most recent theories of Harnack (*e.g.* Lect. VII., Note A), and his general position in regard to the books of the New Testament, leave almost nothing to be desired by those who hold the traditional view of the authority of the New Testament. The discovery of the Tell-el-Amarna

tablets is thought in the Preface not to make such a revolution in criticism as was expected, but in Note A of Lecture IV. it is shown how the discovery bears on the pre-Mosaic history in the Pentateuch; and, if we mistake not, the lecturer's argument is capable of being pushed much further in the direction of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Professor Ramsay's *The Church in the Roman Empire* has influenced the lecturer's decision in more than one point, especially, we are glad to say, in maintaining the traditional view of the date of the Apocalypse as Irenæus had recorded it, *vis.* 95 A.D., and in some respects has modified his position in respect of 2 St. Peter (Lect. VII., Note B). We wish we could persuade Professor Sanday to republish his work on the Fourth Gospel, which has been out of print for twenty years; for we feel that it has never been superseded by any of the Commentaries or Introductions which have since appeared in this country.

The present lectures exhibit Professor Sanday in his best style. He is thoroughly impartial as a critic, quick to seize every point in a piece of evidence, ready to weigh every argument, though it be against his own interest, always courteous, always sympathetic. Occasionally, as we shall see, this desire to see things from both sides, or rather from every side, leads him into a position of hesitancy, and makes him accept a conclusion because of the authority which underlies it, even when he shows some good reasons for holding another opinion in reserve. This may be seen by a careful comparison of the notes attached to each lecture with the text itself, the most obvious instances being those on the 'Pre-Mosaic History in the Pentateuch' (Lect. IV., Note A), and 'The inferior Limit for the Date of the Psalter' (Lect. V., Note A). The lectures themselves are thoroughly interesting—full, indeed, of closely reasoned matter, but clear and vigorous, and attractive because of the tone of deep reverence which is seen throughout; and if at times we may differ widely from the conclusions at which he arrives, or may regard the evidence in another way, we cannot help feeling that such lectures as these and Dr. Kirkpatrick's *Doctrine of the Prophets* will do more than many of the Introductions to make the new criticism tolerable to those who have been brought up under older methods. We do not mean that such books have made us in any way give up the 'modified traditional view,' but only that the somewhat conservative spirit which is exhibited in these lectures, and the tentative position which is adopted, make it more possible for the older and newer critics to study the problems of the Old

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Testament together with confidence in each other's sincerity and earnestness for the truth. The lectures are preceded by a 'Synopsis of Contents,' which was distributed among the congregation in the University Church at the time of their delivery; and from this it is possible to see at a glance the line of argument which has been followed. Lectures I. and II. are concerned with the Historic Canon, first of the New Testament, afterwards of the Old Testament. In the former lecture two landmarks are taken, viz. (1) 400 A.D., when the Canon is practically identical with our own, the chief influences being not so much synodical decisions as the publication of the Latin Vulgate and the authority of certain great Churchmen; (2) 200 A.D., when the Muratorian Canon is extant, fixing the Four Gospels, the Epistles of St. Paul, and the Acts, while other writings are struggling for admission. It is shown further, in the same lecture, how the Canonical books were regarded, and the grounds upon which they were admitted to the Canon; their inspiration, their Apostolic origin, their equality with the books of the Old Testament being specially dwelt upon. In the second lecture the Canon of the Old Testament is dealt with in a similar way, but the order of the argument is slightly inverted. The gathering of Jewish doctors at Jamnia, 100 A.D., is taken as the starting-point, and the evidence of Philo, the New Testament, and Josephus is examined as to the inspiration and sacred character of the Old Testament Scriptures. After that the limits of the Canon are considered, and it is shown that Philo, Josephus, and the New Testament are witnesses to the Canonical books only, the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude being possible exceptions. In the first century A.D. some books are still under discussion, *e.g.* Esther, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. The threefold division of the Old Testament is recognized in the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus, 132 B.C., and must go back further to 170 B.C. at least: it is acknowledged in the New Testament<sup>1</sup> and by Josephus,<sup>2</sup> as well as by Hebrew tradition and St. Jerome. This threefold division marks three stages in the formation of the Canon: the Book of Daniel, being reckoned among the Kethubim, had not been composed when the Prophets were collected; the Book of Chronicles, for the same reason, was not accepted as history. The Law was completed by 444 B.C.; the Prophets were collected in the third century B.C., the Kethubim by 100 B.C., when the LXX version was finished. The meaning of the word Apocrypha is well explained (pp. 105-107), and

<sup>1</sup> St. Luke xxiv. 44.<sup>2</sup> *C. Apion.* i. 8.

the questions raised by the Jewish schools respecting the inspiration of certain books (*e.g.* Ezekiel, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, and Esther) are considered (pp. 108-109), and the conclusion is drawn that the internal evidence of the books themselves is the criterion for their admission to the Canon. Just as *Apostolic* authorship is taken as the determining factor in the admission of the books of the New Testament, so the *Prophetic* origin is taken for the Old Testament. On this point Josephus's testimony as to the cessation of prophecy after the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus (465-425 B.C.) is adopted as a sound principle of criticism. Professor Sanday, however, will not allow the natural inference in favour of the traditional view which Josephus's testimony affords. He says:

'Josephus lays down quite explicitly that there was an unbroken line of prophets from Moses to the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus [*i.e.* to Esther], and that the books written after that date are not deserving of equal credence, because the prophetic gift had ceased. The Canon is with him coextensive with the active exercise of prophecy, and it is the prophetic inspiration which gives the books their value. Josephus was doubtless mistaken in supposing that all the books of the Canon could be got within those limits, and that the historical books were all composed by contemporary prophets. But his leading idea is an intelligible and a sound one' (p. 111).

We think that Professor Sanday himself feels the difficulty of Josephus's criterion and the evidence of the Talmud; when he comes to deal with the Hagiographa in Lecture IV. he has then to resort to the idea of an *extension* of inspiration (Lect. V., p. 264). At the end of the second lecture is added some account of the authorities upon which the substance of the argument concerning the Old Testament is based. Dr. Driver's Introduction and Mr. Montefiore's 'Hibbert Lectures' are referred to with warm approval; Kuenen and Wellhausen are regarded as employing a wrong motive; Dr. A. B. Davidson, Professor J. Robertson, and the late Dr. Robertson Smith are put forward as authorities which deserve great consideration. Professor Sanday unhesitatingly adopts these two positions (p. 120): (1) the untrustworthiness of Jewish traditions as to authorship unless confirmed by internal evidence; (2) the composite character of very many of the books, historical, prophetic, and poetical; and with regard to the Law, he expresses his conviction (i.) that the Pentateuch in its present shape is not earlier than the Captivity, and (ii.) that Deuteronomy was composed not long before 621 B.C., the date of its promulgation by King Josiah. We

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see here that the lecturer is committed to the results of the Higher Criticism on the subject of the Pentateuch: Note A appended to this lecture deals with the question, What constitutes the idea of 'Canon'? because upon this depends the date of the Jewish Canon. The Lecturer's own idea is expressed both here and in the Preface. 'The really essential thing, both for the Old Testament and the New, is the authority with which the several books were invested' (p. 123). 'It is becoming almost a commonplace to say that our conception of what the Bible is should be drawn in the first instance from what the Biblical writers say of themselves' (p. xi). These lectures, like most of modern criticism, deal with internal evidence to the disparagement of external authority and tradition, even when preserved among so conservative a people as the Jews. It is this bias against the authority of the Synagogue and the Church which in our opinion weakens the value of the general argument.

Lectures III.-IV. deal with the 'Genesis of the Old Testament,' viz. (1) the prophetic and historical books, (2) the Law and the Hagiographa; while Lecture V. is concerned with the 'growth of the Old Testament Canon.' At the beginning of Lecture III. we have some remarks upon Divine 'selection.'<sup>1</sup> The Jewish people is selected for religion; the Bible is the record of a real communication from God; it is distinct from all other books; this distinction constitutes what is called Inspiration. This leads to the consideration of the Inspiration of the Prophets and the Historians—the inspiration of the prophets is typical; the development of the gift is seen in 1 Samuel, viz. the prophet, the seer, the priest-prophet; music, or sometimes physical excitement, is employed to stir up the prophetic gift; dreams, trances, ecstasies are means employed for the Divine communications; the seer is consulted about every-day matters, and receives a fee; the oracle of the priesthood and the ephod are the instruments employed for consulting the Divine will. In all this there is much in common with other religions. Then come the schools of the prophets; prophecy becomes a profession, but not all prophets are equally inspired. Professor Sanday compares the religions of Moab and Israel (pp. 135-140) to show, apparently, that if it were not for the inspiration of the latter there would be little to choose between the principles and religious attitude of the two nations. It seems to us that there is great danger in thus putting Chemosh almost on a level with Jehovah; we think that the modern tendency of

<sup>1</sup> Rom. ix. 11.

dragging down the records of the early religion of Israel to the level of heathendom, and of comparing the prophets with those who are without, is greatly to endanger the authority of the Old Testament among simple Christians who are not trained to this comparative view of religions. Professor Sanday shows elsewhere that he has the very highest conception of the Hebrew prophets; but we think that he carries this principle of 'selection' too far. With Samuel the prophetic office is seen to enter upon higher functions; he is more than a seer—he selects Saul, he reforms the prophetic schools. The 'lower prophecy' continues side by side with the higher, but only the higher has come down in writing. The 'higher prophecy' is limited to the three greater and the twelve minor prophets. Daniel is set aside as 'not exactly a prophetic work in the same sense as the rest, and which had a different place assigned to it in the Jewish canon' (p. 143). We cannot understand this antipathy of modern critics to 'Daniel the prophet,' as our Lord calls him;<sup>1</sup> the apocalyptic character of his book ought to cause no more difficulty than the prophecy of Ezekiel or Zechariah, and the place assigned to Daniel among the Kethubim may only indicate the occasion when the book found a place in the Canon—not necessarily the date of its composition. The Maccabean struggle would as easily account for the recognition of an older book, the work of the historical Daniel, as it would account for its composition, according to modern critics, at that time. And if this 'higher prophecy' includes the twelve minor prophets, why should the Book of Jonah receive such scant justice at the hands of modern scholars? Professor Sanday does not pronounce upon it, Professor Kirkpatrick does not include it among the Prophets, and the animated correspondence between Dean Goulburn and Professor Driver<sup>2</sup> has brought out the fact that Jonah is not even regarded as containing true history. In this matter we are bound to resist the Bampton Lecturer's inference respecting the sanction of Christ. We cannot believe that our Lord deliberately gave His sanction to historical facts as historical facts, either knowing them not to be true, or not knowing, nor caring to know, whether they were true or not (Lect. VIII., pp. 407-413).

Professor Sanday's remarks upon those whom he calls the 'higher prophets' (pp. 143-145) leave nothing to be desired:

'Instead of being mere passive instruments their intelligence is

<sup>1</sup> St. Matt. xxiv. 15.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Book of Jonah,' *Guardian*, September 10, 17, 24; October 1, 8, 15, 1890.

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active. They are not a mere flute or lyre for the Spirit to blow through ; or, if they are, there is a fine quality of tone which belongs to the reed or to the strings. The impulse is given, and all the faculties and powers of the man are stirred to unwonted energy, in which, however, as if to give it the stamp of nature and reality, there mingles something of his weakness as well as of his strength' (p. 144).

The authority of the prophets is based upon their inspiration, and for this we have five criteria given, viz. (1) their own testimony;<sup>1</sup> (2) their recognition by their contemporaries ; (3) the consistency of their language—from Moses to Malachi their message comes with the Divine authority, 'Thus saith the LORD'; (4) the supernatural character of their call ; (5) the permanence of their authority—their language is shown to be specially valuable in correcting false metaphysics in Christianity.<sup>2</sup>

The latter part of Lecture III. deals with the historical books, Joshua to Kings, known as 'the former prophets,' as if each portion was written by a contemporary. Professor Sanday regards the historical portions of the Pentateuch as prophetic, and dates them before 760 B.C. ; but from the time of David there had been a continuous historical literature, which formed the basis of the present historical books. He points out that at first this history was anonymous, belonging to a common stock, and being continually reproduced, revised and enlarged by the schools of prophets, in the same way as did the chroniclers of the Middle Ages. Modern investigation (he claims) has laid bare these successive revisions, after which follows the question, Does this revision interfere with inspiration? That will depend upon the kind of inspiration that is claimed for these narrators. The historian is an interpreter. The freshness, beauty, and pathos of the Bible stories are evidences of their historical truth. But does inspiration exempt from error? Professor Sanday appears to say 'No'! His difficulty is that the writers are not near enough to the times of which they write, and there is in them a tendency to idealize (pp. 161, 162); he finds the inspiration of the historians in their work of interpretation, in their conception of the kingdom of God. It is (to use his favourite text) 'the purpose of God according to selection.'<sup>3</sup> We cannot say that such a position satisfies us ; we feel bound to assert our belief that inspiration is as much a security for *facts* as for *faith and morals* ; and we see in the schools of the prophets,

<sup>1</sup> [The note on p. 148 is valuable.]

<sup>2</sup> [The passages quoted on p. 154 are very suggestive.]

<sup>3</sup> Rom. ix. 11.

even if we allow to them only the 'lower prophecy,' a guarantee for fidelity, accuracy, and honesty. We are not prepared to accept idealized history as the only result of the Spirit's power; we see no reason why perfect accuracy in facts cannot go hand-in-hand with the development of the conception of the kingdom of God; we hold that the Spirit guided those who wrote to reject the false and choose the true. Degrees of inspiration may be allowed, if we take care not to curtail the operations of the Spirit, in order to build up some theory of our own. The principle of 'selection' may be carried too far. In Note A of Lecture III. Professor Sanday easily disposes of the claim to prophetic '*charismata*' which is made by some persons for Carlyle, Ruskin, and Tennyson as 'modern prophets.'

Lecture IV. deals with the Law and the Hagiographa. The supremacy of the Law among the Jews is shown, not only by the testimony of Apocryphal writings and the regulations of the Rabbis, but much more by its being the first part of the Old Testament to obtain canonical authority. Though later in its actual composition, according to modern criticism, than the prophetic writings, the Law was recognized as first in importance; and under the name of 'the Law' the writings of the prophets and the Psalms were often included at the time of our Lord. Among the early Christians the Law was regarded as testifying to Christ; but as the Jewish converts were outnumbered by the Gentiles, the Law fell into a subordinate place, except so far as it contained a prophetic element. In our own day prophecy has superseded the Law, chiefly upon critical grounds, and the Law has suffered more than the Prophets from criticism. Professor Sanday shows us every now and again in these lectures that he feels that more could be said for the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch. What he says about the Tell-el-Amarna tablets in Note A of this lecture leads us to hope that he will pursue this subject further, and in the same direction; while in the lecture itself he will not permit us to speak of 'results' as yet, but only of the 'strongly pronounced tendency' of modern criticism 'to spread the composition of the Pentateuch as we have it over the period covered by the Monarchy and the Exile' (p. 172). He believes 'that there is a genuine Mosaic foundation in the Pentateuch,' but feels that 'it is very difficult to lay the finger upon it and say with confidence here Moses himself is speaking' (p. 172). We should have thought that if the prophetic narrative can be dated by the critics between 900 and 750 B.C., it would not be difficult to put it still earlier, even to Moses'

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time, especially in view of the evidence of literary culture in the fifteenth century B.C., now gained by the Tell-el-Amarna tablets; and we have always felt that the Book of Deuteronomy is the natural portion upon which to lay the finger and say 'Here Moses is speaking.' Upon this point we have often thought that the late Dr. A. Edersheim's *Warburton Lectures* (1880-1884) have not received the attention that they deserved. The following passage (from Lecture VII.) will express what we mean:—

'That Christ and the Apostles, in appealing, as so often they did, to Moses and the Prophets, must, on the theory in question, have been in such grave and fundamental error as cannot be explained on the ground of popular modes of speaking, and seems incompatible with the manner in which the New Testament would have us think of them—there are other and most weighty considerations. If there really is no Mosaic legislation; if the largest, the central, and most important part of what professes to be such, was the invention of the priesthood about the time of Ezra, foisted upon Moses for a specific purpose; if there was not a "Tabernacle," in our sense of it, with its specific institutions, nor a central place of worship, nor the great festivals, nor a real Aaronic priesthood; and if the so-called historic books have been coloured and elaborated deuteronomistically, or in that spirit; if they are full of spurious passages and falsifications—as, for example, in the history of Solomon; and if every now and then "a prophet is put in" who expresses himself in the spirit of Deuteronomy and in the language of Jeremiah and Ezekiel; if the "anonymous prophets of 1 Kings xx. have all been afterwards inserted for the purpose of a detailed *vaticinium ex eventu*, because Israelitish history is never complete without this kind of garnish"; if, in short, what has gained for the history of Israel pre-eminently the designation of sacred is mostly due to what a later period "has painted over the original picture"; then there is in plain language only one word to designate all this. That word is *fraud*' (pp. 219-220).

Dr. Edersheim allowed that the Old Testament had undergone 'repeated redactions,' and that certain books could not strictly claim the authorship which their names suggested, but he was determined to judge between falsehood and truth:

"Every literary untruth," writes one of the distinguished modern historians, "brought forward for the purpose of deception, was treated in the first centuries of the Church by all those Fathers whose writings have come down to us, as an abominable sin" (p. 221).

'And we know sufficient of the discussions in those early Jewish assemblies which fixed the Old Testament Canon to assure us that a book would not have been inserted which was known to be false in its title—still less one that was fraudulent in its object. And these assemblies—at least the earlier of them—sat close on, if not in the

very time, that the fraud is supposed to have been published ! Or, to go back a step, and to Old Testament times, how can we reconcile the introduction of such a fraud as the "invention" of the Book of Deuteronomy in the time of Josiah with the denunciations of his contemporary Jeremiah, who inveighs in such stern language against the prophets that prophesied lies in God's name, when He had not sent them ?' (p. 222).

Professor Sanday has not adopted the entire position against which Dr. Edersheim is contending, but other English writers have adopted it in a great measure, and such clear expositions of the doctrines of the extreme school by a scholar so capable (whose death the Church of England must continue to regret), will serve as a warning against the tendency of the position adopted in these lectures. The composition of the Pentateuch is stated to be threefold : (1) the double prophetic narrative, contained in Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers, 900-750 B.C. ; (2) the promulgation of Deuteronomy, not long before 621 B.C. ; and (3) the Priestly Code, at the end of the exile. We think that Dr. Edersheim's words—indeed, the whole of Lectures VII. and VIII.—suggest a line of argument which is clearer and more decisive than even Professor Robertson's *Baird Lectures* (1889), admirable as they are.

Professor Sanday next deals with the question, How far does this theory of the composition of the Pentateuch affect the inspiration of the work ? He points out that Moses was regarded as a prophet,<sup>1</sup> and had higher inspiration than other persons ;<sup>2</sup> and he adds : " Thus saith the Lord " has no weaker meaning in the Pentateuch than it has with them [the prophets]. The inspiration of Moses was like that of the prophets, but differs from theirs by its greater originality' (p. 176). ' We should then, perhaps, be justified in placing the inspiration of Moses by itself, as that not only of a continuator but a founder ' (p. 177). His inspiration differs from that of prophets and priests in being primary, while theirs is derivative and secondary ; but unfortunately the Mosaic element in the Pentateuch is ' dim and inferential,' while the prophetic and priestly portions ' can be marked out with considerable clearness.' The Book of Deuteronomy combines the prophetic and priestly elements, being parallel with Jeremiah and Ezekiel in that respect ; but the prophetic part predominates, and therefore this book is the most evangelical part of the Law. Then follows an account of the growth of the Torah, beginning with Moses' decisions

<sup>1</sup> Hosea xii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Numbers xii. 6-8.

as the lawgiver ; and Deuteronomy is regarded as the embodiment of the harder cases reserved for Moses' judgment. We should have liked to find here some reference to the Ten Commandments as the nucleus of the whole law, and to have had the lecturer's judgment upon their origin ; but we do not remember to have come across a single allusion to the Decalogue in these lectures, which is certainly strange, especially when the Book of Deuteronomy appears to regard them as the historical groundwork of the lawgiver's addresses. We feel the same disappointment when 'the Book of the Covenant' is considered (p. 180) ; it is without doubt the earliest code ; it is spoken in the name of the Lord ; we have been accustomed to regard it as Mosaic, but the lecturer dates it in the middle of the ninth century, B.C. The ceremonial law is considered to have some claim to inspiration, in spite of the attitude supposed to be taken by the prophets towards it, and in spite of its abrogation by Christ, on the ground that the sacrifices have a typical aspect, illustrating the nature of sin and God's hatred of sin, and because they served a Divine purpose in maintaining the cohesion of Israel as a chosen people (pp. 184-8). This is very inadequate, and utterly contrary to the whole Biblical theory, which is that the entire sacrificial system is of Divine institution, and that Moses was commanded to make all things according to the pattern shown him in the Mount. The simple record of these things as ordained by God would be sufficient reason for their place in the Law. The theory of idealised history is not necessary in the Law any more than in the historical books.

The portion of this lecture dealing with the Hagiographa is the part we like least in the whole series. Hitherto the prophetic theory has sufficed for the claim to inspiration for the Law and for the Prophets and Histories ; now the inspiration is regarded as belonging to Israel as a Church, and the Hagiographa as springing from this universal inspiration, which belonged to the people on their return from exile. The consequence is that the Psalms are regarded as 'the hymn-book of the second Temple,' and the Davidic authorship of any psalms is left doubtful. We feel bound to stand by our Lord's declaration respecting Psalm cx., which is attributed to David himself, speaking under Divine inspiration.<sup>1</sup> The Wisdom books are dissociated from any individual authors ; even Proverbs as a collection is dissociated from Solomon, Esther is regarded as of doubtful authority, Ecclesiastes and Daniel are represented as forcing their way into the Canon

<sup>1</sup> St. Mark xiii. 36.

under assumed names, and the same thing is attributed to the Book of Jonah. The bearing of this criticism upon inspiration is consequently most unsatisfactory. The Psalms are inspired because Jehovah speaks in them through the psalmist, and makes special revelations. There is a kind of prophesying, 'a shading off of higher into lower forms' (p. 197). The Wisdom books hang on to the Psalms, especially to those psalms which are philosophical or didactic (*e.g.* xxxvii., xlix., lxxiii.). 'Wisdom' is not confined to Israel, but is common to the Easterns, yet in Israel running up into religious thought. Job deals with problems which cannot be answered except by a belief in a future life. Ecclesiastes exhibits the sincerity and simple faith of the writer; his pessimism is checked by the thought of God's moral government. The Song of Songs is 'never quoted in the New Testament, and contributes nothing to the sum of revelation'; yet it serves a providential purpose, and yields a moral lesson, 'not only a consecration of human love, but also a consecration of the love of nature' (p. 212). Professor Sanday does not favour the allegorical meaning of this book (p. 212); but we wonder whether he has ever considered how the Song has influenced our Lord's teaching about the Bridegroom and the Vineyard and the Shepherd, and how it enters into the imagery of the Apocalypse. He appears to have a peculiar aversion to the Book of Esther, though he prints in Note B Mr. Lock's remarks upon the religious value of the story; and in respect of Daniel he justifies its claim to inspiration because of its teaching concerning the Messiah and the Messianic kingdom. We think that the testimony of Josephus,<sup>1</sup> who says that the book was shown to Alexander the Great, makes for the position, already put forward, that the author was 'Daniel the prophet,' but that its admission to the Canon belonged to a much later period. Professor Sanday's conception of inspiration in relation to the Hagiographa is given in these words, 'There are no doubt well marked grades of inspiration in the Canon; and there are some books which have their place quite upon the outskirts of it, and one or two in which inspiration is hardly perceptible at all' (p. 208). We feel that the theory of 'grades of inspiration' may be carried too far: there would be no need of pressing it, were it not attempted to set the prophetic element of the Old Testament as the standard of the whole collection. No doubt the inspiration of the prophets is a very real thing, and can be laid hold of readily, but we cannot see why the inspiration of the 'Wise Men' and the

<sup>1</sup> *Antt.* xi. 8, 5.



priesthood and the scribes should be regarded as something inferior to that of the prophets; we cannot see why the value of Chronicles as history should be less than that of Kings; we cannot see why Daniel should fall behind Ezekiel. The truth is, by reopening the question of the Old Testament and judging each book or collection by its own merits, and chiefly upon internal considerations, the modern critics have got themselves into a difficulty, which they can solve only by exalting the prophetic inspiration and degrading all else; and their treatment of the Hagiographa becomes dangerous, because they judge them by the merits of the prophetic standard. Those of us who regard the question of inspiration and authority in respect of the Old Testament as resting chiefly upon the judgment of the Jewish Church, with the sanction of our Lord and His Apostles, do not understand why the modern critics desire to go behind that settlement, and question the authority of each book by itself. The questions which were discussed in the Jewish schools at Jamnia, 100 A.D., ought to show us that the Jewish Church had well weighed the question of inspiration in each case, and had authoritatively, by the Great Synagogue or other body of doctors, excluded this from or included that in the Canon. We cannot, therefore, sympathise with Professor Sanday's doubts respecting Esther, Ecclesiastes, or the Song of Songs, on the ground of their later admission to the Canon or because of their contents.

Lecture V. deals with the growth of the Old Testament as a Collection of Sacred Books. The change from the spoken to the written word did not affect the prophetic inspiration. Amos and Hosea are the first writing prophets: Deuteronomy follows before 621 B.C. It was a literary age for Israel, but it cannot be held to be the beginning of literature. Professor Sanday points out that the Tell-el-Amarna tablets put writing back to the fifteenth century B.C.; the Moabite stone is a century before Amos; the songs in Numbers xxi, the song of Deborah, the Book of Jasher, the book of the wars of the Lord, all point to an earlier literature. Professor Kirkpatrick regards Joel and Obadiah as earlier writing prophets than Amos and Hosea: there is a long history and a religion behind Amos. 'The embryonic germ of the Canon of Prophetic Scriptures is as old as Prophecy itself' (p. 231). One is compelled to ask whether Gad and Nathan and Samuel may not have been writing prophets? That their writings have not been preserved can be no proof against their having written, and, indeed, the Book of Samuel is evidence for their

writings. Professor Sanday accepts the date 444 B.C. for the Canon of the Law, but shows that Deuteronomy was complete before 621 B.C., and compares the renewal of the Covenant under Josiah with the proclamation of Joash two hundred years earlier, and dates the Book of the Covenant before 750 B.C. As to Sinaitic legislation the lecturer appears to be doubtful: 'I cannot undertake to say exactly what it was that God was pleased to reveal through Moses' (p. 235). We should like to know what he would say about the Decalogue in its original form; but he excludes all consideration of it. 'The narrative of events which happened at Sinai is some centuries later than those events, and, therefore, cannot be guaranteed to represent them with literal accuracy' (p. 134). To ourselves the security for the accuracy of the Sinaitic legislation and incidents lies in the belief of the Church in the work of the Holy Spirit: His inspiration we extend to facts of history equally with faith and morals.

The account given of the preservation of the Law and the transmission of the prophetic writings is excellent, although we are not prepared to acquiesce altogether in the composite character of the Book of Isaiah; but the hints given by Jeremiah as to the gradual construction of his prophecy are suggestive of what took place in other prophetic writings. We cannot agree with the suggestion that 'even Deuteronomy itself is probably not the work of a single writer but of a school or succession of writers' (p. 142): if there is one part of the Pentateuch more than another for which we should claim Mosaic authorship, it is Deuteronomy; any other origin of it would come perilously near deliberate fraud.

The Canonicity of the Law and the Prophets is attributed to the public reading in synagogues, which rose into existence after the exile; and the Samaritan Pentateuch, which dates from the erection of a rival temple on Mount Gerizim, 432 B.C., is a testimony that the Law only as yet had received Canonical authority. The Canon of the Prophets followed in due course: Ecclesiasticus, 190-180 B.C. (chaps. xlviii.-xlix.), enumerates the prophets in order, with the exception of Daniel; the date given by the lecturer for this stage of the Canon is 250 B.C.; Dan. ix. 2 is quoted as referring to Jeremiah 'as one of a collection of Sacred Books'; this book is dated 164 B.C.

The Hagiographa begin with the notice in Proverbs xxv. of the collection made by the men of Hezekiah: other collections were made by the 'Wise Men.' The Psalms contain a notice at the end of the second book that 'the Prayers of

David . . . are ended.' This is taken to mean that the editor had come across two collections of Davidic psalms. Professor Sanday regards the Psalter as belonging to the Second Temple, and as authorized through liturgical use, but he would maintain a much earlier date for many psalms (p. 251). The Megilloth (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther) depend for their authority upon liturgical use at certain feasts and fasts. Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles depend upon the authority of the scribes. Professor Sanday (in a note on p. 253) alludes to the tradition respecting the 'Men of the Great Synagogue' as the authority which fixed the Canon of the Old Testament. It is uncertain whether he upholds the tradition or not; but Dr. Driver, whom he generally follows, gives his opinion (p. xxxiii of the Introduction) against it in these terms:

'The "Great Synagogue," according to Jewish tradition, was a permanent council established by Ezra, which continued to exercise authority in religious matters till about B.C. 200. But the statements respecting it are obscure and vague: already critics of the last century doubted whether such a permanent body ever existed; and in the opinion of many modern scholars all that is told about it is fiction, the origin of which lies in the (historical) narrative in Neh. 8-10 of the convocation which met at Jerusalem and subscribed the covenant to observe the law.'

The point under discussion is the value of the famous passage in the Talmud upon the Canon,<sup>1</sup> of which it is said, 'The entire passage is manifestly destitute of historical value.' The judgment of the Bishop of Durham [both in *The Bible in the Church* (pp. 35, 36, and App. A) and in the new volume of the *Dictionary of the Bible* (Art. 'Canon of Scripture')] is against Dr. Driver's view. The Bishop says:

'The account given of the formation of the Old Testament appears to be in substance of the most venerable antiquity, and probably contains the most ancient opinion of the Jews upon the subject which has been preserved. In estimating its historical value it is well to bear in mind the tenacity with which Orientals retain a definite traditional record.'

And in Appendix A he adds:

'The final completion of the Hebrew Bible was not the labour of one man or of one generation; and this is the truth which is contained in the story that the men of the Great Assembly "wrote *Ezekiel*, the xii. *Minor Prophets*, *Daniel*, and *Esther*." This *Great Assembly* or *Synagogue*, whose existence has been called in ques-

<sup>1</sup> Driver, pp. xxxii-iii.

tion on insufficient grounds, was the great council of the nation during the Persian period, in which the last substantive changes were made in the constitution of Judaism. The last member of it is said to have been Simon the Just (c. B.C. 310-290). It was organized by Ezra, and, as commonly happens, the work of the whole body was transferred to its representative member. Ezra, as we have seen, probably formed a collection of the prophetic writings; and the Assembly gathered together afterwards (as the Christian Church at a later time in corresponding circumstances) such books as were still left without the Canon, though proved to bear the stamp of the Spirit of God.'

We prefer the Bishop of Durham's account of the growth of the Canon (which he has not seen fit to change in the new edition of the *Bible Dictionary*) to that of Professor Sanday, as being at once more natural and more in accordance with Jewish tradition. Throughout these lectures we have felt that too much stress has been laid upon the internal evidence of the several books of the Old Testament, and too little weight has been given to external testimony. It is this position that has led the lecturer to make so little difference between the Canon and the Apocryphal books; he sees evidence of some sort of inspiration in the Deutero-Canonical writings, and finds it difficult to distinguish between Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus, or between Esther and Wisdom (p. 258). Inspiration passes over the boundary; 'a descending scale' is found 'within the Canon, an ascending scale outside it' (p. 259). The only difference between that which is within and that which is without is held to be that there is a 'self-consciousness' in the Deutero-Canonical writers, a boastfulness such as the inspired writers would not use (p. 260). *The principle of extensions* (p. 264) is made the guarantee for the Hagiographa; the authority of the Law and the Prophets is extended to the other books; prophetic inspiration is the ideal; all else has to be levelled up, until 'the Law' or 'the Law and the Prophets' can include the whole collection. In all this there is the same idea of going behind the authority of the Great Synagogue and reopening the question of inspiration, because the theory of prophetic supremacy has to be maintained to the dismemberment of the Pentateuch, the depreciation of the historical books, and the deterioration of the Hagiographa.

We have devoted our attention chiefly to those lectures which deal with the Old Testament Canon (II.-V.), because this is a new field of criticism with Professor Sanday, and because we are more likely to differ from his conclusions respecting the Old Testament than respecting the New. Lec-

tures VI.-VII. do not present any very new positions. The Synoptic Gospels are regarded as practically complete before 70 A.D. St. Luke's preface is taken as suggesting the mode of their composition. What is said about Catechizing (p. 300) is certainly valuable as the key to early quotations, especially those by St. Justin Martyr. The evidence for the Fourth Gospel and its Johannine authorship is stated clearly and unhesitatingly, as we should have expected; and the influence of public reading (as in the case of the Old Testament) is shown to be a factor in the determination of Canonical books. We think that too much can be made of St. Luke's preface, viz. as to the composite character of the Synoptic Gospels: it certainly looks as if St. Matthew and St. Luke had undergone a re-editing, when the earlier chapters respecting the infancy of our Lord were added; but the remainder of those Gospels, any more than St. Mark's, does not suggest a number of documents. St. Luke's sifting of evidence may apply equally to *oral* and *written* accounts. We agree with Professor Sanday as to the need of a really good and scholarly edition of the Acts of the Apostles; for which the materials collected by Professor Ramsay in *The Church in the Roman Empire* would be invaluable. St. Paul's Epistles are shown to form a collection before 117 A.D., and to be invested with the inspiration of the Apostle. The Catholic Epistles, with the exception of 2 St. Peter, are shown to be regarded as genuine and authentic early in the second century. The early date adopted by Professor Mayor for the Epistle of St. James is not accepted. No judgment is pronounced upon the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, but its date is shown to be earlier than 70 A.D. The case of the Second Epistle of St. Peter is rather hardly dealt with by Professor Sanday, both in the Lectures (pp. 346-9) and in note B of Lecture VII. He evidently feels that he cannot acknowledge its genuineness, but allows that it exhibits some inspiration. Professor Ramsay upholds the Petrine authorship, but would place it later than is usually held, viz. about 80 A.D. For ourselves we are bound to say that we cannot endorse the lecturer's view: 'If the Epistle is not genuine, the writer would not mean any great harm when he took upon himself to write in the name of St. Peter' (p. 349).

We hold that if St. Peter did not write this Epistle, then it is nothing else than a forgery. The writer calls himself 'Simon Peter, an Apostle of Jesus Christ,' professes to have been one of the witnesses of the Transfiguration, intimates that he was the writer of the former Epistle, and asserts that

our Lord had revealed to him his approaching death. Upon these considerations it is most difficult to accept the book as Canonical unless it be authentic. The fact that it was not generally recognized until the end of the fourth century is not sufficient to overthrow its genuineness, especially when it was read as Scripture in the Churches before that time, and alluded to by the earliest writers. Its position would be parallel to that which we have suggested for Daniel in the Old Testament Canon, viz. that it is authentic, but was not at once included among Canonical books.

Professor Sanday's treatment of the Apocalypse leaves nothing to be desired; he recognizes its prophetic inspiration; he admits its literary unity; he has brought himself under the influence of Professor Ramsay's researches to prefer the later date—viz. 95 A.D.

Lecture VIII. is retrospective; the traditional and inductive theories of inspiration are compared, and the general results of the inquiry are gathered up. The lecturer feels a reluctance about the admission of certain books to the Canon, viz. Ecclesiastes, Chronicles, and Esther among the Old Testament, and the Second Epistle of St. Peter among the New Testament Scriptures; but on his theory of a '*maximum* and '*minimum*' of the Divine inspiration he is able to acquiesce in their inclusion. What he says on pp. 399-400 (too long for us to quote) about the superiority of the *inductive* theory of inspiration over the *traditional* is the key to the lecturer's position. We can sympathize with much that he has said both here and elsewhere respecting inspiration, but we cannot consent to regard the Historical Books 'as conveying a religious lesson [rather] than as histories, rather as interpreting than as narrating plain matter of fact.' We hold that inspiration is a safeguard against error in facts as well as in faith and morals. Our position, though not quite as uncompromising as that of Pope Leo XIII.'s Encyclical on Holy Scripture, yet is in substantial agreement with it on this point. Mr. Gore, in his article (*Guardian*, April 11, 1894), maintains that the Pope has committed himself to 'verbal inspiration,' and calls it 'a new departure,' and quotes Dr. Newman as appealing to the councils of Trent and the Vatican for the limitation of inspiration to 'faith and morals,' but not admitting it to include 'matters of faith.' We do not regret the Encyclical; we are grateful for it; it is a timely warning to critics who desire to hold the Catholic Faith not to relax their views of inspiration while they study Scripture. The quotations from early writers given by the Pope are sufficient



to show that 'verbal' inspiration did not exclude the recognition of the human element in the writers, but that the Holy Ghost was regarded (as in the New Testament) as an infallible guide and teacher, and the Scriptures were held to be His work achieved through human instruments. It will be seen by reference to the Bampton Lectures that the teaching of Philo (pp. 73-74) and the early Fathers (pp. 31-34) was not so different from the Encyclical. Professor Sanday himself insists very strongly upon the fact of inspiration. 'The authority of the Bible is derived from what is commonly called its inspiration' (p. 3); 'That which gives to the Scriptures this authoritative and sacred character is more particularly the fact that they are inspired by the Holy Spirit' (p. 31). Our chief objection to Professor Sanday's position is that he arrives at this conclusion almost wholly upon internal considerations.

We have only a few remarks to add respecting these lectures: *First*, as to the Dedication, 'Ecclesiæ Majori Anglicanæ, scilicet omnibus qui ex gente Anglorum oriundi quocumque sub nomine Christum ex animo colunt et venerantur.' We know the wide sympathy of the Professor for those who are without as well as those who are within the communion of the Church of England, but we question whether it is consistent with John Bampton's intention so to enlarge the English Church, especially as he would have 'all heretics and schismatics' confuted by lecturers on his Foundation. It is possible to weaken one's influence as a Church teacher by being too open-armed to those who are not churchmen.

*Secondly*, as to the title of the Lectures, 'Inspiration.' It gives a wrong impression to the reader. There is a great deal about inspiration, especially as to its degrees—how it shades off in one direction, while it is intensified elsewhere—but the nature of inspiration is scarcely touched upon. The books are, indeed, examined to show the consciousness of the writer that he is under divine influence, but to our knowledge of where the human element ends and inspiration begins these lectures add almost nothing. It is plain that Professor Sanday cannot allow 'verbal' or 'organic' inspiration; we doubt if he will admit what has been called 'dynamic': as far as we can judge he would prefer to regard it as '*illumination*,'<sup>1</sup> a theory which recognizes degrees of inspiration, is not continuous, and distinguishes between 'the prophetic spirit' and the spirit which is exhibited in the Kethubim. The whole argument of the lectures is concerned with the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Archdeacon Farrar on Inspiration in the *Bible Educator*, i. 205.

Canon of Scripture, considered in relation to modern criticism, and would, in our opinion, have been rather called 'the Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures,' according to the terms of the founder's will.

*Thirdly*, we have reason to object to Professor Sanday's treatment of our Lord's authority. In Note A of Lecture VIII. we have two illustrations of the statement :

'Whatever view our Lord Himself entertained as to the Scriptures of the Old Testament, the record of His words has certainly come down to us through the medium of persons who shared the current views on the subject. We must therefore be prepared for the possibility that His *dicta* in regard to it have not been reported with absolute accuracy' (p. 407).

The note compares St. Luke xi. 29-32 with the parallel in St. Matt. xii. 39-41, and hints that the sign of the 'three days in the whale's belly' is 'no part of the original saying.' This, we suppose, is part of that attempt of modern critics to get rid of the historical character of the Book of Jonah. Jonah's revival was as much 'a sign to the Ninevites' as was his preaching; and to say that the context does not turn upon the resurrection (pp. 432-433) is nothing to the point, because our Lord's teaching, like Jonah's, was enforced by His resurrection; those who rejected the one rejected the other also, even as He foretold (in St. Luke xvi. 31), 'If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, . . . neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead.' The other example,<sup>1</sup> as being an *ad hominem* argument, is regarded as conceivably altered by lapse of time, though *something like* it must have happened (p. 433). We are not able to reconcile these remarks with the promise of our Lord to His Apostles (including St. Matthew and St. John), that the Holy Ghost would 'guide' them 'into all the truth,' and 'bring all things to their remembrance.'<sup>2</sup> If we begin to question the narrative of the Four Gospels we do not know where we may get to; their Apostolic origin cannot be depended upon. A similar position is taken up in regard to our Lord's recorded references to the Old Testament authors or writers (pp. 408-409 and pp. 413-414), to which we cannot assent. We cannot accept any limitations of our Lord's human knowledge, except in the one matter of the last day.<sup>3</sup> All that Professor Sanday has said upon 'the Sanction of Christ' does not convince us: we hold that the Person 'in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge'<sup>4</sup> could not use the Holy Scriptures

<sup>1</sup> St. John x. 34-36.

<sup>3</sup> St. Mark xiii. 32.

<sup>2</sup> St. John xiv. 26; xvi. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Col. ii. 3.

in a way that was liable to mislead those who heard Him, nor speak words which were only relatively true. Such exegesis as that given on p. 419—'There were many matters which it was the will of God to have altered some day, but "the time was not yet"'—is very far below the Catholic doctrine; as also is the next sentence: 'And the Son entered so far into the mind of the Father as to leave those matters where they were, and to forbear from making any change in regard to them.' Such language ignores the perfect harmony of the Divine will in both the Father and the Son, and overlooks the truth that is so conspicuous in our Lord's earthly life—viz. that every thing which He does is according to the purpose of God the Father who sent Him. But in spite of all that we have had to urge against the position taken up by Professor Sanday, we must allow that these lectures are thoroughly attractive, both from their temperate method of argument and their earnest reverence for God's Word; they will be really valuable as a book of reference: the Notes at the end of each lecture will repay careful study; and the Chronological Tables at the end of the volume will enable the student to see at a glance the place which modern criticism of the less advanced school would assign to each book, or portion of book, or collection. The Index, also, is both full and accurate: we have not noticed any misprints.

#### ART. VII.—HORT'S HULSEAN LECTURES ON THE WAY, THE TRUTH, THE LIFE.

*The Way, the Truth, the Life.* The Hulsean Lectures for 1871. By FENTON JOHN ANTHONY HORT, D.D., sometime Hulsean Professor and Lady Margaret's Reader in Divinity in the University of Cambridge. (Cambridge and London, 1893.)

THE publication of these lectures must be a rebuke to many writers. They were delivered in 1871, and had not been published at the time of the death of their author in 1892, because, in his judgment, they still needed further revision before they were fit to be given to a wider circle than that which heard them preached, and to appear in a more permanent form. This delay in publishing illustrates the patient care with which Dr. Hort deemed it necessary to bring all work on which he was engaged to the highest pitch of perfection which it was possible for him to reach.

We have noticed in the unfinished Introduction which is prefixed to the lectures the following statement about them : 'If they do not suggest more questions than they answer, their intention is not fulfilled.'<sup>1</sup> This statement admirably describes one feature of the lectures. They abound in thoughts of great depth. Sentence after sentence is of such a character as to form the starting-point of a train of reasoning. The successive sentences and thoughts are indeed consecutive, and there is a consistent plan upon which the whole purpose of each lecture is carefully developed ; but still a careful reader will want to stop every moment and work out in his own mind the series of consequences which the last sentence he has read suggests. If it was Dr. Hort's intention to provoke thought rather than to impose his own, that intention will be abundantly fulfilled in the small class of readers who will take the trouble and give the time to use this exceedingly difficult book as it deserves to be used.

A great deal will be lost if a reader, however careful, is content to work out for himself the separate thoughts, and neglects the plan and purpose to which we have referred. To any who have not yet read the book we may perhaps be allowed to say that they may be repaid if, on their first reading of the lectures, they resist the temptation to stop and think at the end of each sentence, and read through each lecture as a whole as quickly as is consistent with care in very much the same way in which many teachers recommend the first reading of important works to be carried out by those who are beginning to study them. It will not be waste of time to read the lectures again with slow consideration of each separate point and then, with the fuller thought which has thus been gained, again to go through the whole with a view to grasping its general drift. There are few books of the present time about which we should venture to suggest to our readers that they should take so great pains to ascertain the meaning. That we suggest it in the case of *The Way, the Truth, the Life* indicates our sense of its value.

What we have hitherto said shows that the lectures will appeal to a special class. The more competent the mind of a pupil, the less, as a rule, ought a teacher to supply a formed conclusion. With scholars of real capacity it is the master's work to lead them in the directions and to confront them with the problems through which they may be brought to realize for themselves the truth. There is a parallel way in which something similar is true of all kinds of teaching. The

<sup>1</sup> Introduction, p. xxxv.

simplest instruction can be best conveyed to the simplest minds by means of questions which suggest the answers. But we have in view a type of education in which the answers are not at all directly suggested, but in which trains of thought are started. In addressing many an audience and in teaching many pupils such a method would simply be cruel. It would merely be inviting them to barren speculations, and running a serious risk of producing a state of mind which is agnostic because it is confused. There are many for whom clear and positive statements and instruction of a dogmatic character are absolute necessities if their minds are to be trained at all to right processes and to attain to conclusions which are true. But for an audience of the highest type and for pupils of real intellectual grasp the method which Dr. Hort has adopted has merits which are peculiarly its own. That it is not the only kind of true teaching he himself appears to have been fully aware :

'I could not willingly,' he says, 'be instrumental in supplying ready nourishment to the credulity which is truly said to be a dangerous disease of the time. The vast multitudes of simple Christian people who know no difficulties, and need know none for themselves, are of course not in question here. Fundamental inquiries constitute no part of their duty ; and though the exemption disqualifies them for some among the higher offices of service to their fellows, it leaves them, perhaps, the more capable of others, according to the Divine allotment of various responsibilities. But the easy belief, the easy disbelief, the easy acquiescence in suspense between belief and disbelief, which infect those other multitudes upon whom the burden of asking themselves whether the faith of the Church is true or not true has been laid are manifestations of a single temper of mind which ought to cause Christians more disquiet than the growing force of well weighed hostility. Owing to the deceptiveness of words, credulity is popularly imputed to those only who land themselves on the Christian side ; though the same impatient indolence of investigation, the same willingness to choose and espouse or neglect evidence in obedience to proclivities of outward association, may lead equally in different temperaments and circumstances to any one of the three positions.'<sup>1</sup>

The importance of this passage extends beyond the implied recognition that to 'vast multitudes' dogmatic instruction and formed conclusions must by some means be given. Part of its value is in the emphasis on the fact that impatience and indolence and partiality have often a good deal to do with an agnostic position or an attitude of disbelief. In difficult problems which concern the ultimate harmonies of the

<sup>1</sup> Introduction, pp. xxxv, xxxvi.

Faith it is not infrequently mental indolence which causes the rejection of that which is revealed. It is easier in such cases to acquiesce in unbelief than to make the effort by which alone the mind can hold the truth. In theological and moral questions alike impatience often leads to unbelief. The reasoning faculties, it is claimed, must be fully satisfied in the present life; the justice and love of God must be made clear to individuals and without delay. A claim so unreasonable in its impatience has its natural conclusion in opinions which are untrue.

It is the tendency of those who have struggled to reach or to abide in the Faith to underrate its value to those to whom it has come and with whom it has remained in calmer ways. It is difficult for those who know with a sad sense of strain the point where unbelief presses, and who are never unconscious of the stress which they have experienced in themselves or realized in others, to sympathize with the faith which is calm and humble—not because, as in some, it has passed through difficulty, but because it has never felt it. If we thought that Dr. Hort was making little of such calm humble faith as this when he wrote, 'Beliefs worth calling beliefs must be purchased with the sweat of the brow,'<sup>1</sup> it would be our duty to make an indignant protest. That in his implied condemnation he had in mind those only who ought to face problems, and have too little mental and spiritual energy to do so, is shown by the passage we have already quoted, and by the words which immediately follow the sentence to which we have last referred:

'The easy conclusions which are accepted on borrowed grounds in evasion of the labour and responsibility of thought may or may not be coincident with truth: in either case they have little or no share in its power.'<sup>2</sup>

In what he has written about the duty of the high type of mind he has in view Dr. Hort speaks in his Introduction (p. xxxv) of 'fundamental inquiries,' and in the second lecture there is much which implies the investigation of matters of primary belief. There is no doubt that some earnest Christians would be sincerely shocked by such a suggestion. We ourselves think there is need of not a little caution in so speaking. But we feel sure that Dr. Hort's meaning is good and right. There are those for whom doubt is sin. There are those whose duty it is to turn aside from every line of thought which raises questions about the Creed of the Church.

<sup>1</sup> Introduction, p. xxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. xxxiv, xxxv.



But there are those also whose duty lies in a different direction. The teacher who has no doubts of his own needs to enter into and to try to understand the facts and the trains of reasoning and the motives which lead others into doubt. Only in proportion as he has learned to appreciate the force and to discern the weakness of the arguments by which a sceptical position is defended, and upon which it rests, can he help those to whom it appeals to refute it. It is one of the first conditions of a really strong and far-reaching defence of the Faith to know and understand the meaning of all that can be said against it. But it is not only teachers who wish to appreciate the force of theories which it is part of their work to oppose who may need to investigate matters of primary belief. There are those, as we have said, whose only right attitude towards doubt is to crush it. There are those also for whom there can be no other conscientious course of action than to go through, in an inquiring spirit, the whole evidence for and against the Faith which is within their reach. If they do so, honestly seeking to learn the truth and determined to accept whatever they are led in their conscience to believe to be true, their inquiry is as far as possible removed from the sin of doubt. If without such inquiry their conscience cannot rest, no strength of belief on our part in the obligation of the Faith can withhold us from saying that they must inquire. The Faith does indeed bind the conscience, but the conscience that is bound is that of those who recognize the binding force. It is no use to appeal to the authority of the Bible when the doubt is what is the value of the Holy Scriptures, or to the decisive force of the words of Christ if the question at issue is whether He be a divine Teacher or not. And when Dr. Hort claims the lawfulness of such investigation, even into what is primary, it is the strength of his conviction rather than any want of steadfastness which causes him to do so.

\* 'Do we fear,' he says, 'for the fate of the costly truth itself? It may be reasonable that we should fear if we have never known it in our inmost hearts, shining upon us with a vividness that makes the clearness of common truths seem like a pallid mist. If we have, we surely cannot believe that any multiplication of trials can ever extinguish its central light. Or is it that we fear so greatly the folly and feebleness of human judgment that we think the truth may be driven by processes of frenzied ignorance from the belief and acceptance of man? Yes, if it be not truth indeed, and the truth of God, and if Christ came not into the world to bear witness to the truth. This at least let us who have been taught by the Gospel believe, that no faith founded on truth can ever die except that it may

rise to a better life. Believed or not believed, known or not known, it abides for ever in heaven till the hour appointed by the Father' (p. 89).

We think that one passage, fine as in some respects it is, tends towards allowing to too great an extent the possibility of alteration in the Faith of the Church, and towards estimating too lightly the loss of individuals.

'The enterprise is full of peril; yet its peril is but the inverted image of its promise. If we accept the command to "prove all things," and "hold fast that which is good," we must be prepared for the possibility of having to cast aside at last, after the most patient and watchful trial, this or that which we have been accustomed to receive as true. How far the loss if it comes will be other than a semblance of loss, or how far it will be outweighed by unlooked-for gains we may not know. Assuredly many will take part in the trial unversed in all the needful discipline, enslaved to inappropriate modes of investigation, ignorant of what patience and watchfulness mean, reckless meanwhile in inflicting wanton injury on all forms of human welfare except the one or two which circumstances have enabled them to appreciate. Assuredly many a weak or hasty soul will be stricken with spiritual palsy, and many a strong soul with sadness, while the work goes on. Yet so it has been in every great crisis of the Church by which the kingdom of God has made a swift advance. If we stop to count the falling or fallen no battle will ever be won' (pp. 88, 89).

But the strength of Dr. Hort's conviction of the impregnable character of the Faith itself and of the certainty of the ultimate victory of what is true never wavers. And here, as throughout the volume, the type of mind of which he is thinking and which he is addressing must not be lost sight of.

The lectures form a treatise on Apologetics of a positive kind. They were intended to be a combination of the recently repealed conditions of the Hulsean Lectures, that they should 'show "the truth and excellence of Christianity," more especially by "collateral arguments,"' and 'explain "some of the more difficult texts or obscure parts of the Holy Scriptures, such as may appear to be more generally useful or necessary to be explained,"' and to present what Dr. Hort 'held to be the true view of Christian Evidences.' He speaks of the 'hesitation' with which he undertook 'the office' and the 'purposes' which he had in view—"the expression of personal conviction," 'the furtherance of independence in belief,' and, 'still more essential' than the others 'to the whole plan,' 'the appeal to the relations between the Christian revelation and the sum of experience rather than to any separable and separated credentials.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Introduction, pp. xxviii-xxx.

There are very different methods of Apologetics. There is the defence of the Faith by means of detailed arguments against attacks which have been made upon it. There is the clear statement of doctrine supported by the arguments upon which, so far as reasoning is concerned, it rests, and the facts with which it is inseparably connected. There is the presentation of the harmonies to be found within the Faith itself and the inner consistency, which to the minds of many affords a most convincing proof of its truth. There is also the work of indicating the harmony, not of the separate parts of the Faith with one another, but of the Faith itself with the observed facts of human life and the power which it possesses for satisfying human thought. For each of these methods there is a proper place. Under differing circumstances each of them may become the most important or the most necessary. Many apologetic works, valuable at the time when they were written and sound in their arguments, are now wearisome to read and of little practical service to the Faith. The points at issue and the nature of the arguments which are found to be convincing are changing all the time as different branches of knowledge become prominent and interests and methods of thought vary.

Dr. Hort's Hulsean Lectures are an instance of the apologetic method which we mentioned last. When he speaks of the evidence for truth being 'found in the light which it brings far more than in any light which it receives' (p. 12), he indicates shortly one aspect of the reasoning which is characteristic of the book. It is a method which is peculiarly attractive at the present time. The advance of knowledge in the department of natural science, the remarkable way in which scientific facts and theories have won recognition from educated thought generally, the course which philosophic inquiry has taken both in Germany and in England, have led to a value which, if it is sometimes exaggerated, cannot be ignored being attached to this method. The lines of thought which Bishop Butler used at a particular stage in theological controversy, and against a particular class of opponents of Christianity, when put in a new form to meet new needs, are most influential to-day.

The Lectures form a treatise on the words of our Lord in His last discourse: 'I am the Way and the Truth and the Life; no one cometh unto the Father save through Me.'<sup>1</sup> They show the infinite greatness of the claim which our Lord here makes. They imply throughout how, if the words are

<sup>1</sup> St. John xiv. 6.

true, Christ possesses a unique position which enables Him to teach and command with absolute authority. They call attention to the verification of the claim in human history and experience.

Dr. Hort will not allow any minimizing of the full grammatical meaning of the words upon which he thus dwells. When our Lord said that He was 'the Way,' He meant what He said in the most literal sense.

'It was doubtless hard for those who reclined around that table to understand in what sense one in fashion like themselves could say "I am the Way." Perhaps it is equally hard for us who have received Him through the Creeds in His Divine majesty. Whether spoken from the human lips of Jesus or from the highest heaven, the words have a perplexing sound which no Jewish forms of speech suffice to make clear. They must always remain unintelligible as applied to the function of a simple Teacher or Ruler. The claim which they embody includes not merely a set of men moving in a world, but the world itself which contains them. They convey a doctrine of Creation and Providence, not merely of historical mission; a claim on the part of the speaker to permanent supremacy in the whole manifold economy of circumstance. They are the practical and ethical expression of an all-embracing truth which we may perhaps apprehend best in the form of two separate doctrines: first, that the whole seeming maze of history in nature and man, the tumultuous movement of the world in progress, has running through it one supreme dominating Way; and second, that He who on earth was called Jesus the Nazarene *is* that Way' (pp. 20, 21).

So, too, when he said that He was 'the Truth,'

'He was condensing into a word one primary aspect of all that His ministry had been implying and all that His teaching had been expounding in varied phrase' (p. 53);

and the words are to be understood in the fullest possible sense:

'Thus the strictest sense of Christ's words "I am the Truth" is also the most comprehensive: it answers alike to the requirements of the hour when it was spoken and to the gradual fulfilment of the Divine kingdom. It points first to that manifestation of the unseen God of which He spoke when He said, "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father"; while it includes in its ultimate scope all creation, the world of nature of which He is the Life, and the world of man whom He redeemed out of nature, and of whom He is both the Life and the Light. This second declaration, like the first, spoke comfort and hope to the faint-hearted disciples by disclosing to them the depth and range of the Lord's own permanent working, and therefore of the work which they were to carry forward in His name. It speaks comfort and hope in like manner to all at any time who

find themselves perplexed by the presence of truth not before known. It warns of the danger of suffering truth to lose its rightful place in work and devotion. It marks every truth which seems alien to Christ as a sign that the time is come for a better knowledge of Christ, since no truth can be alien to Him who is the Truth. It points to Him in His eternal fulness as the one sufficient measure by which all truth may find its proper station. The comfort and hope thus bestowed by Christ were dependent on the demand which He made. If it was an arduous change after following the Lord as a Guide to walk in Him as the universal Way, it could not be less arduous to pass from hearkening to Him as a Teacher to studying Him as the universal Truth' (pp. 85, 86).

The first and the second claim are made rational by the third, that He is 'the Life':

'The Way itself could not be clearly apprehended unless the Truth and the Life were held up simultaneously to view, so that the contrast might aid in dispelling the vagueness inseparable at first from ideas of such magnitude. But the relation was not one merely of contrast but of dependence. The place which Christ holds in the movement of events as the Way implies, if we may venture to use such language, that He holds a corresponding place as the Truth in the permanent order of all things that exist. The Way lies most on the surface as presented to our faculties; further down lies the Truth, and beneath the Truth the Life. It is because the eternal Son of God is the Life that He is the Truth; and it is because He is the Truth that He is the Way' (pp. 55, 56).

'A way presupposes a truth, and knowledge of truth sooner or later becomes indispensable for walking in a right way. Hence Christ's claim to be called the Way required for its substantiation an equal claim to be called the Truth. Discipleship to Him had throughout its course involved perpetual manifestation of truth and perpetual education of the power of apprehending truth, and that in close relation to Himself. And so, on the one hand, its office in the future would vitally depend on perpetual apprehension of truth, and on the other Christ the Word of God, by virtue of His primary relation to all created things, would be found to be the Truth of truth, and knowledge of Him to be the keystone of all knowledge.

'But again these two responses to the perplexed disciple by no means fill up the sum of need of which experience makes him conscious. Man and the universe surrounding man can by no means be resolved completely into a succession of acts and events and a constitutive order of permanent forms. The one most mysterious but most mighty factor of created things remains, the link between the two worlds of movement and of order, even that which generalizing rudely from a single conspicuous manifestation we call life, and for which philosophy has found no better name. It reaches in unbroken range from the obscurest marshallings of the inner substance of seemingly lifeless things up to the loftiest exaltations of the human spirit. This life, as it is in man, partly shared with the

lower animals, partly unique, not only is the necessary latent base of human action and knowledge, but by their side and in their midst has its own proper manifestations in what is called in the widest sense emotion. Life is more than emotion, but the special expression of life is emotion. . . . If right ways are hard to find, if the truth of things is hard to be known, yet harder is it to attain to an order in the obscure chaos of feeling, to bring it into harmonious co-operation with the other human energies, nay, to keep it from deranging or subverting their work. . . . The choice of ways was arbitrary, the problem of truth was insoluble, until council had been held in the inner shrine of life. . . . If He were not the Life, it was little that He should be the Way and the Truth. If it was only the outer circles of human existence that found their true purpose in His lordship and partook of His unity, then the present had no order and the future no promise. An independence of personality and affections and desires in each individual disciple, beneath the common subjection to the one Way and the one Truth, would have made discipleship at last a mockery. He as the Life must rule their life at its centre, if life and knowledge and action were to make one harmonious whole. As their life was a life of men, and was designed to enable them to do their part among men, He must also be the life of mankind. Once more, since the life of man is the summing up of all lower lives, and implicitly includes them within itself, He must be the life of all creatures that live, the First and the Last of all creation' (pp. 119-124).

And, moreover, the claim to be 'the Way' and 'the Truth' and 'the Life' is inseparably connected with the words which follow, 'No one cometh unto the Father save through Me':

'The exclusiveness of Christ's affirmation is inseparable from the nature of the office which He has been claiming for Himself. Its effect is simply to fix with absolute certainty the definiteness and universality of the preceding revelation. It forbids us to understand Christ as saying no more than "I am a way, I am truth, I am life." On the other hand it receives its own interpretation from the three-fold revelation. "Through Me" cannot mean only "by My favour" or "by My intercession": it cannot bear any sense limited by the conditions of a single human career: it is co-extensive with the Way, the Truth, and the Life. . . . The keys of all worlds with which we have to do are in the hands of Him who took our nature and died for our sake. His exclusive mediation means first the unity of all things in Him, and then the privilege bestowed on us as His brethren of finding that when we yield ourselves to Him all things whatsoever that we touch are bearing us onward to God. . . . The exclusiveness of Christ is in truth but another name for the absolute universality of His kingdom combined with its absolute unity' (pp. 158-160).

The passages we have quoted show the general line of



thought which runs through the lectures. Its place in the teaching and work of Christ, its office in the Ministry of the Apostles, its relation to human experience, the practical deductions to be inferred from it at the present time, are dwelt upon by Dr. Hort with impressive power and in language which, in spite of the singular obscurity of many parts of the lectures, has a fascinating force.

It may be well that we should indicate some of the directions in which we think the teaching of this book leads towards conclusions beyond those which are stated in the book itself.

The lectures themselves indicate that He who is to be 'the Way' and 'the Truth' and 'the Life' must be true God and perfect Man. The position which they assign to Him has an important bearing on the revelation contained in Holy Scripture, and on the doctrines of the Church and the Sacraments. He is 'the Truth,' and therefore His teaching is an expression, perfect for its purpose on every point it touches, of truth. But it is not only belief in His own teaching that is affected by the claim about Himself. His life is the centre round which all Scripture is grouped. The Old Testament, from beginning to end, is the prophecy and the preparation of the kingdom of the Messiah. The New Testament is the history of the establishment of His kingdom and the assertion of the consequences, for the Church and the individual, of that establishment. The work of the Spirit in connexion with the Incarnation did not begin with the Incarnation itself. He, through whose operation the human life of Christ was to have its being, was in the revelations and the guidance which the Old Testament records preparing the way for the Incarnate Life. Nor did it end with the fact of the Incarnation or with the Life of Christ on earth. The completion of Christ's earthly life and the uplifting of His Manhood to the Throne of the Father were the occasion of a new gift of the Holy Ghost. In the power of that new gift the Church was formed, the teaching of the Apostles was given, the New Testament was written. Within the Church the Holy Spirit was still, in accordance with the promise of Christ, the teacher of 'all the truth.'<sup>1</sup> Everything which was thus accomplished was part of the divinely appointed method by which He who is 'the Truth' should make the truth known.

There are other ways in which man learns what is true. He who has taken human life into personal union with Himself does not leave Himself without witness in human thought.

<sup>1</sup> St. John xvi. 13. Cf. xiv. 17, 26; xv. 26; xvi. 14, 15.

He who made it part of the nature of man that he should be formed in the image of God possesses in man that which is capable of being an answering power to everything that speaks of Him. But there is a difference between that which is revealed in Holy Scripture or taught in the Church and all other teaching. That which is thus revealed or taught is part of the specific manifestation of 'the Truth.' It is gathered round Him as the appointed means of the declaration of His nature and will. It is certified by His use or by His promise. It is in differing ways that word of God which is the expression in time of the Eternal Word.

If this is so, the consideration of Christ as 'the Truth' leads to a distinction between reason and faith. It is possible to depreciate reason and to ignore the work of Christ outside revelation and grace. It is possible, also, and is especially easy in a reaction from such depreciation or such forgetfulness, to obliterate the true line of demarcation between that which is the result of natural processes and that which is the special gift of God.

Moreover, the Church, which is the mystical Body of Him who is 'the Truth,' and is guided and controlled by the Divine Spirit who eternally proceeds from Him, who was sent by Him in time, and who is eternally united with Him and the Father, is also His witness. And not such a witness only as are the seasons to God's power and goodness, or as is the adaptability of man's frame and mind for his task as the world's ruler to God's wisdom, but a witness appointed for special purposes, granted powers by a special covenant, guaranteed by a special promise.

For those who will take the Gospels in their hands and think what Christ's promises to the Church really mean, and take the whole Bible and see in it the wonderful unity which is the result of a unique purpose connected with the manifestation of 'the Truth,' however highly they may estimate man's nature, and however greatly they may value the work of his mind, the decisions of reason fall in one group, the dictates of faith fall in another.

It remains true that the reason has its due work to perform, and that there is a task for the conscience in accepting that which authority imposes. But the message of revealed truth to the soul is a Divine message, and the acceptance of it is the result of the grace of God.

That Christ is 'the Way' and 'the Life' leads on to the Sacraments. There have been those who have made all their hopes rest in a merely spiritual communion with God. To

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do so is, indeed, not unattractive. There is a fascination in the thought of the spirit, which is the highest part of man, holding direct converse with the Eternal Spirit who gave it life, in getting rid of the intermediate agency, not only of other men, but also of all that is material. But the thought is as untrue to the constitution of man's nature as it is to the revelation of God. The human body, however injured by the ravages of original and actual sin, has its own dignity. It is true it is the instrument of the soul. But it is more than the instrument. It is the associate, inseparable except when the full life is interrupted.

On such grounds it might be reasoned that the Sacraments are an appropriate means of bestowing grace because of the nature of man. But there is a great deal more, apart from any express teaching or commands, when the import of the fact that our Lord is 'the Way' and 'the Life' is considered. In Him is the union of man and God. As in His Divine Person are united Humanity and Deity, so in Him the Father and the race of the redeemed are joined in one. He is 'the Way' and there is no other means of access to the Father. Since He is 'the Way' as being God and Man, it is through union with His Humanity that man is joined unto God. Through His Body there is union with His Godhead, and with the Father in heaven, and the union of man with His Body is made through the body of man.

Moreover, He is 'the Life.' It is not only the soul of man, but also his body which needs to be preserved unto eternal life, which needs to receive the life of God in this world. It is as Man and God that Christ is the Life of the world. His Divine Being imparts to His human life in body and soul the distinctive powers which characterize it. It is through His Humanity that the Divine Life comes to man; it is through man's body that he receives the sacred touch of Christ as Man.

The Sacramental system of the Church has too often been regarded as something additional to be believed by those who have accepted the central truths of the Christian Religion—as a difficulty rather than as a help. In point of fact, the Sacramental system is one of the evidences for the truth of the Faith. It helps to show the profound reasonableness of the religion of Christ, and its wonderful powers in meeting the needs of men.

Consequently, when the doctrine of the Sacraments is minimized or ignored or denied, central truth is robbed of a safeguard which it ought to possess.

The statement that our Lord is 'the Way' and 'the Truth' and 'the Life' denotes the union which is accomplished in Him between us men and God. That union connotes the brotherhood of Christians. They who in common are united to God are, by virtue of this union, united to one another. In proportion to the reality of the Sacraments, the brotherhood is real.

The thought of to-day demands a religion which will allow for the whole nature of man, and which will regard him as a social being, not treated as an individual, but together with his fellows. It might easily be that such a demand might be more than, or might be different from, what the truth of God requires. But it is a satisfaction to know that Catholic doctrine contemplates man in all parts of his nature, and treats him in the Church as a member of the Christian Society.

There are many charges which may rightly be made against Puritan theology. But it may be doubted whether any of these is more serious than that it has treated man as if the spiritual side of his nature were his whole nature, and as if each individual stood alone. Not the least thoughtful of some types of unbelief may be traced to such misconceptions.

We have passed beyond the expressed teaching of Dr. Hort's lectures. Possibly we have gone further than he himself would have wished to go. There are not wanting signs that he would have hesitated to distinguish reason from faith in the way in which it seems to us necessary to distinguish it, and that he would not have been prepared to affirm Sacramental doctrine which appears to us to be the natural inference from, and the required safeguard of, the central dogmas of Christian belief. But the lines of thought which we have followed are those which his lectures suggest.

We have left altogether unnoticed many suggestive ideas. We have not attempted to trace out in detail many harmonies of Christian thought and man's nature and history and needs of which the book is full. We have been of opinion that we should serve our readers better by indicating the central point of view; by commenting on the limits within which the volume will be useful, because of the class of persons to whom it appeals; by noticing that there are further consequences which may rightly be reached; and by leaving them in other respects to the study of the book itself. Study it will abundantly repay. To a hurried reading it will not improbably return nothing at all.

We must not end our review without directing attention to the prefatory note which the Bishop of Durham has written,

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or without a word of appreciation of the care and skill which have evidently been employed by the Rev. J. O. F. Murray in his task of editing the volume. It was characteristic of Dr. Hort in his lifetime that his great learning and his patient industry were always at the service of those to whom they might afford help; it is fitting that after his death his unfinished work should have been so tenderly cared for and so skilfully treated as the present volume shows to have been the case.

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#### ART. VIII.—THE ORIGIN OF THE GALLICAN CHURCH.

*Fastes Episcopaux de l'ancienne Gaule.* Par l'Abbé L. DUCHESNE. Tome premier: Provinces du Sud-Est. (Paris, 1894.)

STUDENTS of English Church history will always welcome any book that tends to throw light on the ancient Church of Gaul. For Gaul was the stepping-stone to Britain, and whether Christianity was brought to this island in the natural development of the Christianity of Gaul, or as the direct result of an effort made in the Far East to spread the Gospel in the West, it cannot for a moment be denied that the first missionaries that reached our shores must have passed through part of the great province of Gaul. We welcome, then, this new work from the fertile pen of l'Abbé Duchesne. All students must welcome a book from the pen of the greatest living historian of Gaul. It appeals to us whether we confine our interest to Gallican Church history or whether we look in it for facts which may bring us nearer to the truth in reference to the early Christianizing of Britain. Englishmen are possibly no longer prepared to believe that this island was the scene of the missionary zeal of an Apostle or of one of the seventy Disciples; but it will be long before they can throw off all reliance in that oft-repeated statement that the Gospel was brought to Britain, not through the instrumentality of the Christians at Rome, but through the enterprise of Eastern missionaries, who, having landed at Marseilles, made their way hither, either down the valley of the Garonne to Bordeaux, or else up the valley of the Rhône and across the central plain of Belgic Gaul. The book before us takes us one step further in our search after truth, for it gives us a lucid and critical account of the early Gallican Church. We find here

all that is known about the connexion of the Christians of the Rhône valley with those of the East. We are amazed, perhaps, to find how slight that intercourse was, and how much of those traditions on which we have been wont to rely is the invention of credulous and perhaps interested hagiographers of the fifth and subsequent centuries. It is certainly well, therefore, to realize on what slender evidence we have based our belief. No legend records that British Christianity was brought by way of the Straits of Gades by mariners who ventured further than the islands of the Cassiterides. It is to the south of Gaul that all tradition points, and from the old Greek colony of Massilia claims these unknown benefactors of our land. Across those Iberian lands to Burdigala from Agatha, the western offshoot of Massilia, or up and down those rivers that flow north and south from the mountains of Burgundy to the Itian port—it matters not which route is chosen—the point from which they started was Massilia. Eastern missionaries from the province of Asia, or the yet more distant Syria, entrusting themselves to Greek mariners, the worthy descendants of those valorous Phœceans of old, reached at last the Greek emporium of the West. Thence they started on their perilous journey across Gaul, and planted in Britain the Cross of the Saviour they adored. Thus may be defined the general belief of Englishmen on this subject. Let us consider this theory from two distinct points of view. What evidence is there, direct or indirect, for such an idea, and what may be said against it? Now all our inquiries must be confined to Gaul, for there are no traditions in Britain which throw any light on the question, and we must see first of all what the history of the empire has to tell us about the south of Gaul, what can be discovered concerning the history of the Church in those parts during the first four centuries of the Christian era, and what impression is made by a comparative study of the primitive occidental liturgies. That Marseilles was Greek in its origin, and Greek in its sympathies, is well known; but how far can it be said that its influence spread into the province or yet into wider Gaul? Never in its palmy days did that influence spread beyond the coast. It was practically confined to the five small ports of Taurenti, Hières, Antibes, Nice, and Agde; and ere the Christian era began the glory of Marseilles had departed, its prosperity had begun to wane, and it had been cut off from all intercourse with the mainland. In the great struggle between Cæsar and Pompey, Massilia had taken the side of Pompey and had sheltered Domitius; and in 49 B.C. it capitulated to Cæsar and was shorn of its two most important



harbours east and west, at Antibes and Agde. The next year it received a further blow in Cæsar's colony of veterans which he placed at Vienne. There had been two colonies founded at Aix and Narbonne by Sextius Calvinus, but Marseilles had flourished notwithstanding their opposition. But Vienne was founded for a political object, and Marseilles soon felt the change. In the confusion that followed the death of Cæsar, the Allobroges rose and drove out the veterans from Vienne; but no permanent improvement came to Marseilles, for while the veterans moved northward and founded Lyons, Vienne was soon refilled by a fresh emigration from Italy, and two instead of one Roman town guarded the valley of the Rhône. Then followed the further Romanizing of the province under Augustus, a Romanizing not against the Grecizing from Marseilles, but against the ideas of self-government prevalent amongst the Celtic tribes. Roman colonies with full Roman franchise were formed at Fréjus, Arles, Orange, and Béziers, and Latin rights were given to Carpentras, Cavaillon, Aix, Nîmes; and before very long new Roman Arles outstript old Roman Narbonne and older Greek Massilia as the centre of commercial enterprise, and Fréjus became the naval station of the empire. In A.D. 12 Drusus, under the authority of Augustus, made Lyons the place for the Celtic Diet, and a few years afterwards Augustus held there the census of the Gallic provinces. Thus, at the close of the Augustan age, both banks of the Rhône were completely Romanized in language and manner; whatever influence Marseilles had ever exercised was now destroyed, and whatever commercial enterprise into the interior was taken in hand must have been known and sanctioned by the Imperial authorities. For the first three centuries of the Christian era, Lyons was the capital of Gaul, and during that long period Marseilles kept at a steady level of insignificance, even after the time had passed away when the Roman authorities might have feared her hostile influence. In the re-arrangement of the provinces under Diocletian, Arles and Trier took the place that Lyons had enjoyed, and to the very last we find Arles the capital of the usurper Constantine, if not the city of the younger Theodosius. Such is the political history of Southern Gaul; and these facts must be taken into consideration in reference to our search.

And when we turn to the history of the Christian Church in this neighbourhood we learn something very similar. The Greek influence of Marseilles is nowhere felt. Duchesne, referring to the historic value of some legends which we must

afterwards consider, is ready to allow that Christianity was brought to Marseilles at a very early period: 'Il est naturel de supposer que, parmi tant de navires qui vinrent, aux temps les plus anciens du Christianisme, jeter l'ancre dans le port de Marseille, il s'en est trouvé qui aurent débarqué des évangélistes.' This natural supposition, however, we must take for what it is worth, and Duchesne himself shows that it is founded on no authority whatever. Practically, it is based on the strength of that group of legends which he himself disproves, the group that refer to the family of Bethany. There is no evidence of the existence of a Christian Church at Marseilles before the time of Oresius, who represented this Church at the Council of Arles, 314. The legendary St. Lazarus vanishes as we criticize him. Our earliest notice of the Gospel in the province does not concern the Greek city of Marseilles, but the Roman colony of Cæsar's veterans and the capital of the Celtic Diet. We must look to Lyons and Vienne and not to Marseilles for the earliest settlement of the Church in Gaul. Eusebius preserves for us a memorable letter which the surviving Christians at Lyons wrote to the Christians in Asia and Phrygia, after the Aurelian persecution. The letter is well known and does not require description. But there is much in it that calls for notice, and that on account of the 'natural supposition' that is built upon its authority. The Bishop of Lyons, Pothinus by name, seems to have been a Greek. Irenæus, his successor, was a native of Smyrna, and in his youth had known St. Polycarp; Attalus, one of the martyrs, was a native of Pergamos; and another martyr, Alexander, a physician, was a Phrygian. It is assumed, therefore, on this evidence, that Lyons was converted by a mission either from Smyrna or at least from Asia Minor. It is a natural supposition. Why, we are asked, should this letter have been sent to Smyrna if it was not a letter from a daughter Church? Now, the martyrdom of St. Polycarp had occurred some years before that of Pothinus and his companions, and Irenæus, who, on the death of their bishop, seems to have been the mainstay of the Christians of Lyons, had been a pupil of St. Polycarp. The suffering Church of Lyons felt how similar was its position to that of the Church of Smyrna but a short time ago, and may have hoped for its special sympathy in this severe crisis. Moreover, this letter was a circular letter, a copy of which was also sent to Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome. Irenæus had lived for some considerable time at Rome before he went to Lyons, and was there at the time of the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, and

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on the death of Pothinus he is sent to Rome, and the letter he took with him seems to suggest that Pothinus had originally been sent from Rome, having been consecrated by Soter or possibly Amicatus. However, Irenæus is consecrated by Eleutherius, and it is much more natural to suppose that he was sent to Rome for that very purpose. Gregory of Tours' statement that Irenæus was sent from Smyrna by Polycarp is against all the known facts in the life of Irenæus, and must be dismissed with many other of the legends Gregory records of those early times. Nor can any deduction be made from the fact that there were other Asiatics among the Lyons martyrs. Greeks were found everywhere. Greek was then the language of all but the lower classes in Rome, and the early Church in the West was certainly bilingual. It was only towards the end of this second century that the Latin-speaking Christians in Rome had been able to assert their right to be recognized in reference to the language of the liturgy and the election of the bishop. Nor can we draw conclusions from the Greek names of these martyrs, they can be matched with several that are distinctly Latin. Vettius Epagathus was probably a Celt, and if so, the first-fruits of Gaul; Attalus the Pergamene and Sanctus both spoke Latin. Lyons, especially at the time of the Diet—the time when the persecution blazed forth, was very polyglot, and Greek culture was in favour in Lyons because it was in favour in Rome. Favorinus, the correspondent of Hadrian and Pompeius Trogus, were natives of Arles or the province, and spoke and wrote in Greek. Moreover, we must not forget that Christianity in the East always adopted the language of the country, but we never hear of Gallic Christians speaking or praying in the Celtic language. The Church at Lyons in 177 does not appear to have been very strong. Pothinus is the only bishop in Gaul. No mention is made of a bishop of Vienne. Now, in the most ancient lists of the Bishops of Vienne the first four names are those of Crescens, Zacharias, Martinus, and Verus. The last of these appears to have taken part in the Council of Arles, 314, and Martinus seems to have been confused with Mamertus, since his day and that of St. Mamertus are identical in the later versions of the Hieronymian Martyrology. The rivalry between Vienne and Arles in the fifth century, and the claim of the latter Church to have been founded by St. Trophimus, has produced a great deal of uncertainty in the lists of bishops of both these places. The earliest list of the bishops of Vienne is that which Archbishop Adon in the ninth century had before him when

he compiled his own list and his Martyrology, and it may be considered to represent the tradition at Vienne in his time concerning his predecessors. But if Crescens, the disciple of St. Paul, was the first bishop of Vienne, there must be a considerable gap in the list for the fourth, Verus, to be present at Arles. But Adon certainly does not regard his list as imperfect, nor does he state that the disciple of St. Paul was the first bishop of Vienne. He merely states that Crescens stayed at Vienne 'aliquot annos,' and having ordained Zacharias the martyr as bishop, returned to Galatia. Nor did Adon apparently consider that Gaul was the Galatia to which St. Paul sent Crescens, and yet this is the basis of the whole tradition. 'Rediens [i.e. Crescens] vero ad gentem cui specialiter fuerat episcopus datus Galatas usque ad beatum finem vitæ suæ in opere Domini confortavit.' The name Crescentius was not an uncommon name, and in the Hieronymian Martyrology for June 27, the date ascribed to this Crescens in the Martyrology of Adon, there is a Crescentius mentioned amid a group of African martyrs. It is probable, then, that Vienne did not become the seat of a bishop till the middle of the third century; that Crescentius, if he was the first bishop, was other than the disciple of St. Paul, and that Zacharias the martyr may have suffered during the Decian persecution. Vienne was certainly, at the time of the Aurelian persecution, dependent on Lyons, and the fact that no bishops of Lyons are known before the time of Pothinus makes it improbable that Vienne had bishops at an earlier date. The successor of Irenæus at Lyons was a Zacharias, and we may therefore conclude that, even at that time, Vienne and Lyons were united under one bishop.

In his preliminary chapter l'Abbé Duchesne gives us a list of twenty-four Gallican dioceses that possess lists of their earlier bishops, which on the whole may be regarded as reliable, and then he passes in review over the whole of the 121 dioceses of ancient Gaul. The conclusion he comes to is that, while a large number of dioceses begin at some period of the fourth century, only some six can be assigned to the middle of the third century, *i.e.* Lyons, Vienne, Toulouse, Arles, Cahors, and Tours, while Lyons alone reaches back into the second half of the second century. Ancient lists of bishops, Duchesne very truly says, have a value of their own. They are less ambitious than those preserved merely by local tradition. Addition cannot be made without betraying the deed. The result of his review he sums up under the following heads:—

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'1. Que l'organisation épiscopale s'est produite d'abord dans les centres les plus importants.

'2. Que dans les pays situés à quelque distance de la Méditerranée et de la basse vallée du Rhône, il ne s'est fondé aucune église (Lyon exceptée) avant le milieu du iii<sup>e</sup> siècle environ.

'3. Que, dans ces mêmes régions, la plupart des cités n'ont pas eu d'évêque spécial avant le iv<sup>e</sup> siècle plus ou moins avancé,' and then he crosses the Alps and says of Haute Italie, 'les fondations d'évêchés dans l'Italie du nord sont donc, pour la plupart, du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle' (p. 32).

This digression into Italy, as we shall see, he uses very effectively when he considers the ecclesiastical organization of the fourth century and the origin of it. At the Council of Arles six churches were represented, of which, however, only five—those of Lyons, Vienne, Reims, Trèves, and Rouen—have good ancient catalogues of their bishops. That of Arles is preserved in a Sacramentary of the ninth century, and is full of mistaken and unreliable interpolations. Thirty years after we find St. Athanasius recording how that thirty-four Gallican bishops had given in their adhesion to the decrees of the Council of Sardica, 343. There are, however, two conflicting accounts of the origin of the Gallican dioceses which call for notice: the one is the legendary account enshrined in the ancient Gallican liturgies of the eighth and later centuries, and the other is that based on the well-known passage of Gregory of Tours.

'Deux systèmes sont depuis longtemps en conflit: l'un qui se réclame de légendes longtemps soutenues par leur appropriation liturgique, reporte au premier siècle la fondation de la plupart des sièges épiscopaux de la Gaule: l'autre qui se fonde principalement sur un passage de Grégoire de Tours, abaisse de deux cents ans environ ces origines ecclésiastiques' (p. 1).

Gregory's words are:—'*hujus [i.e. Decii] tempore septem viri episcopi ordinati ad prædicandum in Gallias missi sunt sicut historia passionis sancti martyris Saturnini denarrat.*' The result of Duchesne's researches agrees with the opinion of Sulpicius Severus, that Christianity was somewhat late in coming to Gaul, and also with the opinion of the seven bishops present at the Council of Tours, who, in their letter to St. Rade Gund, assigned the introduction of Christianity into Gaul to a period very little anterior to the time of St. Martin. Gregory of Tours has probably preserved to us an historical fact in the above passage. The seven bishops were sent to Tours, Arles, Narbonne, Toulouse, Paris, and Limoges,

and it is probable that they were sent by Xystus II., *i.e.* 257 A.D. At any rate, it seems probable that the age of Decius and Valerian coincided with a sudden development of Church organization in Gaul, a development which may have originated in Rome, but which certainly did not remain in a state of dependence on Rome. It was not till the opening years of the fifth century that Rome began to assert a right to interfere in Gallican controversies and to revise the decisions of Gallican councils.

When we turn, therefore, to the legendary matter concerning the early Gallican Church, we find that it is possible, not merely to trace these legends to their origin, but to discover in them indirect evidence in favour generally of the statement of Gregory. At first sight these legends certainly appear to suggest the popular idea of the Oriental origin of the Gallican Church. The legends concern St. Trophimus at Arles, St. Saturninus at Toulouse, St. Symphorian at Autun, and the family of Bethany in the neighbourhood of Marseilles. Until these can be satisfactorily accounted for, it will be impossible to accept with unwavering faith the ecclesiastical history which the episcopal lists provide.

Now, according to Gregory, St. Trophimus was one of the bishops sent to Gaul in the time of Decius. He was sent to Arles. No attempt is made to identify him with the disciple of St. Paul. The bishops who wrote to Leo the Great in favour of Ravennius' claim to metropolitan rights as against those of the Bishop of Vienne state that St. Trophimus was the evangelist of Gaul and had been sent by the blessed Apostle St. Peter. This, then, was some one differing from his namesake mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, and it is evident that the bishops in their letter to Leo were grounding their claim on evidence of which they were not quite certain, for they confound the Apostle with his successors in the bishopric of Rome. From the fifth century, then, Trophimus, a bishop sent from Rome, was regarded as the first bishop of Arles; and it is probable that he is a little earlier than that Marcellinus who is referred to in the letters of St. Cyprian as having fallen into the Novatian heresy.

The legend of St. Saturninus is capable of a similar explanation, and upholds the testimony of Gregory. We are told by the Bishop of Tours that he was sent to Toulouse and was one of the memorable seven; and in the *Gloria Martyrum* of Gregory we are told that Saturninus was *ab apostolorum discipulis ordinatus*. This phrase gave rise to the later legend that he was sent to Toulouse by St. Clement of

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Rome. But all the Popes were *discipuli apostolorum*, and Xystus answers this description, if not literally, yet in the common interpretation of that phrase.

The legend of St. Symphorian has more of interest in it and is more obscure. There is a decided Oriental element running through it. Not, indeed, that the original legend cannot be discovered, but it is so interwoven with other legends, that it calls for more care in unravelling the thread. It is an opportunity which is exactly suited to the erudition of l'Abbé Duchesne. The group of legends refer to the origin of the churches of Valence, Besançon, Langres, Dijon, Autun, and Saulieu, and they reach back to the end of the second century. There are features in them which speak strongly in their favour; but they are also so manifestly composed for a purpose that we can have no hesitation in rejecting them. St. Irenæus is said to have sent to Besançon a priest, Ferréol, and a deacon, Ferjeux, to found the church there; and about the same time to have sent to Valence for the same purpose a priest, Felix, with two deacons, Achilles and Fortunatus. After a time St. Ferréol and St. Felix both have visions in which are intimations of their approaching martyrdom. Felix saw five lambs on a lily-studded meadow, and a voice says to him, 'Come, disciple of Irenæus, receive the reward of your labours.' At Besançon there is a slight change; St. Ferréol saw five brilliant golden crowns in the air, and a voice from heaven declares to him what is practically the same message.

At Autun and Langres we find another set of names, but the legend clearly refers to the same time, the end of the second century. On the night after the martyrdom of Irenæus he appeared to St. Polycarp, who is regarded as still living, and told him that on account of the persecution the Church in Gaul was quite disorganised. So St. Polycarp sent forth two priests, SS. Benignus and Andochus, and a deacon, Thyrsis. These three in due time arrive at Marseilles, and, coming to Autun, are hospitably entertained by Faustus, a senator. There they baptize his son, Symphorian, and then separate; Benignus goes to Langres, while Andochus and Thyrsis stay at Autun. These three are the patron saints of Saulieu; and then come the legend of St. Symphorian at Autun and that of the three twins at Langres.

The earliest narrative of the Passion of St. Symphorian, that which Ruinart inserts in his *Acta Sincera*, says nothing about SS. Benignus and Andochus, and there can be no doubt that the legend preserves an historic fact, that a Symphorian died

possibly at Autun, and in the Aurelian persecution, or in that under Severus. In later manuscripts we come upon attempts to improve this legend, and St. Benignus is introduced as the priest who baptized the young martyr. Then follows the legend of the Passion of the three twins at Langres. This is purely Oriental, is recognized in the Greek liturgies, and the event occurred in Cappadocia. Between the fourth and fifth centuries the cult was introduced into Langres, and in the seventh century Warnachaire of Langres relates this legend to Bishop Ceraunus of Paris as if the whole story had occurred at Langres, and introduced into the legend St. Benignus, who baptized St. Symphorian. One must notice, also, that in the liturgical legends of the Passions of SS. Ferréol and Benignus certain reflexions of the persecutors are introduced which are almost identical. '*Nec miscetur lex illa Christianorum legibus deorum nostrorum*' (Passion of St. Benignus). '*Nec lex illa Christianorum aliquando commisceri potest legibus deorum nostrorum*' (Passion of SS. Ferréol and Ferjeux). In all these there are points of similarity, and Duchesne remarks:—

'Il est du reste à noter que, dans les deux groupes de légendes, c'est toujours par l'empereur Aurélien que l'on date. L'ancienne passion de saint Symphorien aura fourni ce détail.'

'Ainsi nous sommes en présence d'un ensemble de légendes sorties de la même plume, et ces légendes ont une même prétention, celle de raconter les origines d'églises importantes, situées à diverses distances autour de Lyon.'

All these six legends occur in the Martyrology of Adon and in the Missale Gothicum, a missal of the eighth century, which was probably made for a church in the diocese of Autun. In the Mass for SS. Ferréol and Ferjeux reference is made to the glittering crowns of the vision, and in that for St. Symphorian it is said, '*qui beatos patres Andochium Benignumque secutus.*'

The Hieronymian Martyrology, according to the version prevalent in the diocese of Auxerre, about the end of the sixth century, refers to these six legends, but gives no extracts from them; but it is clear that they are all connected with that of Langres, and the Passion of the three twins is also placed thus:—'*XVI. Kal. Feb. Lingonis. Passio sanctorum martyrum geminorum Speusippi, Helasippi, Melasippi, Leonellæ, Junellæ, Neonis.*'

Now when we turn to Gregory of Tours we find that he knew the legend of Benignus, and had seen some account of the Passion of the saints at Besançon, and in his account of

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that of St. Symphorian there is no trace of these later additions. But Gregory gives us the clue by which we can account for these additions to the simple legend of St. Symphorian. It reveals the extraordinary credulity of the mediæval age, and can be matched in the territory of Aix, in reference to St. Mary Magdalene, and in the territory of our own monastery of Ramsey, in reference to St. Ives. A tomb or a corpse is discovered, and at once a theory is started to explain its existence. There was at Dijon a tomb which the local peasantry regarded as belonging to some saint. Gregory, Bishop of Langres, who lived at Dijon at the time, had no such veneration for the tomb; but a change came over him, and somewhat suddenly. The saint appeared and upbraided him for his incredulity, and assured him that the tomb was that of a saint. Then Gregory set about to repair the tomb, and presently some people, coming out of Italy, tell him that it must be the tomb of St. Benignus. This is the beginning of the legend of St. Benignus, of which at that time—*i.e.* the beginning of the sixth century—no one in the locality knew anything, and no one in Italy had ever heard of. The rest was fairly easy. There was the legend of St. Symphorian at Autun for a foundation. Autun, Langres, Besançon, and Valence were daughter churches of Lyons, and, by the boldness of the hagiographer, they are united in the group of legends of SS. Symphorian, Benignus, Andochus, Ferreolus, Ferjeux, and that of the three twins. The only point of special interest is that the scribe should have known the Cappadocian legend of the three twins, and should have transferred to Italy the origin of the fame of St. Benignus. We will be able to account for this presently, and must finish our review of these early legends before we account for their Oriental character. The last group concerns the family of Bethany. It will, however, be sufficient to sum up Duchesne's very lucid statement concerning it. Before the eleventh century there is no trace of any group of legends that would place the saints of Bethany and other Eastern saints in the south of Gaul. About the middle of that century the cult of St. Mary Magdalene appeared at Vezelay. The sculpture on some ancient tombs in the church of St. Maximin, in the territory of Aix, was supposed to depict one of the scenes in her life. But there were two tombs, and as nothing was known of St. Maximin, at once there arose the legend that St. Maximin was one of the seventy disciples: that he had come over with the Magdalene to Marseilles, and had died and been buried by the side of his companion,

near Aix. Thence, for fear of the invasion of the Goths or others, the remains were transferred at some time to Vezelay. In the next century—*i.e.* the twelfth—a body is discovered at Tarascon which was recognized as that of St. Martha, and at once, in connection with the Vezelay tradition, a legend is formed of her separation from her sister soon after their arrival at Marseilles. In the thirteenth century a pilgrimage was begun to a grotto not far from Marseilles which had hitherto been dedicated to the Virgin. The legend of St. Mary of Egypt was thereupon utilized, and it was declared that here was the place where St. Mary of Bethany had spent her lifelong penance. Then followed the quarrel with Vezelay as to her remains. The cult at Vezelay had called for relics of St. Mary, and Adalgar, the bishop, had heard of the sculptured tomb in the territory of Aix. Between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries the churches of St. Maximin and St. Mary at the Grotto are in no way connected with the Magdalene. St. Maximin was never regarded as the bishop of that place until after the rise of the legend of Vezelay, and nothing is known as to who he was or where he came from. The sarcophagi in the crypt of St. Maximin do not bear out in their sculpture the theory that the scenes of the Magdalene's life are depicted on them. They belong to some private Gallo-Roman family of the old heathen days. In the East the remains of SS. Mary Magdalene and Lazarus were supposed to rest at Ephesus, and in 899 the Emperor Leo VI. had the remains taken to Constantinople, and created the festival of their translation. The legend of Lazarus has absolutely nothing but the grossest credulity for its support. Up to the end of the eleventh century the church at Autun was dedicated in honour of St. Nazaire. Early in the twelfth century the church was restored, and it was thought that the bones of Lazarus must be somewhere within its precincts. It is thereupon re-dedicated, but no longer to St. Nazaire, but to Lazarus, who was raised from the dead. So the myth grew, and a century later we find the people of Marseilles claiming Lazarus as the founder of their church, and asserting that the relics at Autun were stolen from them, or else taken there for fear of the Saracens. Thus the legend ran, and has had its influence on the history of the Gallican Church: Lazarus, Martha, and Mary came to Marseilles, driven from the Holy Land by the persecution of the Jews; Martha was buried at Tarascon, Mary at Marseilles, and Vezelay and Lazarus at Autun. From the fourteenth century downward these myths have entered in and corrupted the episcopal lists

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and the early history of the Church, and only after you have sifted and put them aside can you begin to see how natural was the process and how much of the real history can still be discovered. It is evident that there is no trace of any Eastern mission to Gaul, but, on the contrary, every scrap of reliable history that can be discovered points to Italy and to the bishops of Rome as the source whence these missions started forth. The Gallican Church was not founded till the mission was established at the headquarters of the cult of the emperor and the meeting-place of the Celtic tribes, nor even then was there more than one bishop for the whole of Gaul. The legends of SS. Ferréol and Felix are so far of value in that they seem to preserve a true historical feature of early Christianity; the missions were composed of priests, and not of bishops, and not till the third century did the Church take that bolder step and found a diocese after it had established a mission.

But if the Gallican Church owes much to the zeal of the bishops of Rome during the second half of the third century, it also owes much to the Church of Milan during the second half of the succeeding century. The genius of Ambrose produced a rapid extension of episcopacy and church organisation in Northern Italy, and for three or four decades the Church of Milan seems to have eclipsed the Church of Rome. The Western capital, as the centre of paganism, was not the favourite residence of the Christian emperor, and Theodosius's stay at Milan gave it a brief but very powerful political influence. Up to the end of the fourth century Gaul was without any ecclesiastical centre, and at the Councils held there during that century the senior bishop present appears to have presided over the discussions. But Gaul was closely connected with Milan, and at the suggestion of St. Ambrose Gaul sent two representatives to his Council of Aquileia in 381 on Illyrian affairs. During the great controversy concerning Felix of Trier in 390 the Gallican Church applied to Ambrose for advice, and at the Council of Turin they do not know whether Vienne or Arles has the better claim for metropolitan rights. There can be no doubt that the influence of Milan at this time was paramount in Gaul, and two other facts strengthen one's belief in this theory. The predecessor of Ambrose was Auxentius, a Cappadocian who was placed at Milan by Constantine for theological reasons. Can we not see here a solution of the problem as to how the cult of the three Cappadocian twins got to Langres and Saulieu? It cannot of course be proved, but it goes to strengthen the general

impression. And, again, it is well known that the interest in Milan concerning the discovery of the so-called Neronian martyrs SS. Nazarius, Gervasius and Protasius was an interest which was also shared by the Gallican Church—an interest which is evident even to-day in the dedication of the cathedral churches of Maçon, Soissons, and Leicoure to SS. Gervasius and Protasius, and in those of Beziers and Carcassonne being dedicated to St. Nazarius, while the seaport near Toulon takes its name from the Milanese martyr. Even as late as the Fifth General Council, 553, Dacius of Milan can speak as if Gaul and Burgundy were even then connected in a very intimate way with Milan: 'Ecce, ego et pars omnium sacerdotum inter quos ecclesia mea constituta est, id est Gallia, Burgundia, Spania, etc.'

This evidence is further strengthened when we consider the early Occidental liturgies. Here, too, we see traces of the influence of Milan, if not of the influence of Rome. Much has been said of the Oriental character of the Gallican and Mozarabic liturgies, and much more has been assumed on the authority of those statements. Let us suppose for a moment that those statements are true. We must also bear in mind that it is only natural that these features should exist. There are three ways in which the presence of these features can be explained. First of all, we may fairly say that they existed in all the Western as well as in the earlier Oriental liturgies. We know absolutely nothing of the composition of the Western liturgies before the end of the fifth century which would enable us to trace their origin to any special quarter. The Felician and Cononian versions of the *Liber Pontificalis* of Rome contain evidence of traditional activity on the part of the Roman pontiffs in reference to the services of the Church, and especially of the Eucharist Office. Now improvements and additions often took the place of other parts no longer in favour. But such omissions, as a rule, are seldom recorded. It is impossible therefore to say that an office of the fifth or sixth century, which is the result of the continued improvement on the part of a succession of bishops who were wont to use it, did not contain elements which are found in liturgies—for instance, in Gaul and Spain—which were not in the hands of bishops who possessed such authority and could command such influence. It is probable, therefore, that these Eastern features, which have been entirely improved away from the Roman liturgy, have in part survived in the Mozarabic and Gallican liturgies. This view of course would leave the question of parentage and descent still open.

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Then there is the view which Duchesne himself advocates in his *Origines du Culte Chrétien*.<sup>1</sup> He allows that there may possibly be two usages recognised in the West, and these he would regard as the Roman and the Gallican. He also allows, as we all must, that there are certain Gallican features which are decidedly of an Oriental character. He then turns to the city of Milan with its powerful but ephemeral influence, when it was the see of Ambrose and the residence of the emperor, and asserts that it is more than possible that Auxentius the Cappadocian would have introduced special features and changes in the liturgy, and that those changes would have tended to assimilate the liturgy of Milan with those of the East. The features referred to in the letter of Innocent (416) to Decentius of Euqubrium are those which are characteristic of the Gallican and Milanese liturgy. And if these features were not doctrinal and heterodox, why should Ambrose have abolished them?

'On peut croire que pendant son long épiscopat Auxence exerça quelque action sur son clergé et sur les choses d'organisation intérieure. Saint Ambroise, son successeur, trouva établis beaucoup d'usages qui ne méritaient pas tous d'être corrigés. On conçoit que, la doctrine se trouvant sauve par le fait même de son élévation au siège de Milan, Ambroise ait jugé opportun de ne pas introduire d'inutiles changements dans le domaine du rite. Il est sûr que plusieurs particularités milanaïses des plus importantes, au point de vue de la discipline et du culte, remontent jusqu'à son épiscopat, et que, comme ces particularités ont une physionomie tout orientale, ce n'est pas lui qui a pu les introduire. Le mieux est de croire qu'elles existaient avant lui et qu'il n'a fait que consacrer par son acceptation et sa pratique des habitudes antérieurement importées.'

The strength of this argument lies chiefly in the fact that it provides a plausible explanation for the existence of liturgical features, to account for which there is no other theory that can be regarded as based on any historical evidence. In the sixth century, during the troubles caused by the Lombard invasion, the Church of Milan sank to a very low state, and under the rising influence of Gregory the Great important changes appear to have been introduced into her liturgy. It follows then, according to this argument which l'Abbé Duchesne so ably defends, that there were three stages in the Western liturgies. First came the period when the liturgies at Lyons, Milan, and Rome were the same, the period of the episcopates of Eleutherius, Mona, and Pothinus. Then came the period of independence, when changes were introduced at Rome which

<sup>1</sup> *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, p. 88.

did not spread, changes which are briefly chronicled in the *Liber Pontificalis* under the pontificates of Zephyrinus, Felix, Sylvester, Anastasius, and others; and, on the other hand, changes at Milan which spread to Gaul because of the influence of Ambrose and the Church of Milan over the unorganised Gallican Church. And, thirdly, the stage when Roman improvements were adopted first at Milan and then, much more slowly and at a much later time, in Spain and Gaul. The more closely the ancient manuscripts which contain fragments of Gallican liturgies are studied, the stronger it will be found is their testimony in favour of this theory, and, if it is rejected, it remains for its opponents to produce evidence against it, and to prove or make probable any other theory. If we could go back to that first stage and discover what was the liturgy which the martyrs of Lyons used, we would be in an infinitely better position to judge the value of this theory, and all we can say under the circumstance of our ignorance is that cumulative evidence makes it extremely probable.

The last hypothesis, viz. that the features of the Gallican and Mozarabic liturgies are due to Eastern missions, in the early days of Christian missionary activity, to the west of Europe, upheld as it has been by writer after writer on English and British Catholic worship and doctrine, has been already shown to lack all support. On the contrary, it is against the weight of historical evidence concerning the early Gallican Church. L'Abbé Duchesne has certainly made this quite clear, and has shown us in a way in which it has never been shown before, by his wide and critical searches into the episcopal lists of Southern Gaul, that whatever we may believe as to a British Church of the first or second century, the Gallican Church, with the exception of the mission to Lyons, begins in the middle of the third century. It is therefore more than probable that Christianity was brought to Gaul and Britain, as we would naturally imagine it would be brought, through the usual channels of communication between the capital and the provinces. It was not the case, so frequent in this century, of the Gospel leading the way for modern civilisation into barbarous lands. Many of the luxuries and refinements of civilized life already existed in Spain, Gaul, and Britain; and we have had brought before us in this valuable book evidence of a very convincing nature that Christianity was established first of all, not in distant settlements apart from Imperial intercourse, but in the centres of government, of culture, and of mercantile enterprise—in Rome, in Lyons, in London, and in York.

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# ART. IX.—UNIVERSITY EXTENSION IN OXFORD AND THE NON-COLLEGIATE SYSTEM.

1. *Oxford University Extension*. (London, 1866.)
2. *The Scholares non ascripti*. A Paper of Suggestions drawn up by the Rev. G. W. KITCHIN, M.A. (Oxford, 1876.)
3. *Minutes of Evidence taken by the University Commissioners*. (London, 1877-8.)
4. *Letter to Mr. Vice-Chancellor on Amendments to the New Statute on Students not attached to any College or Hall*. By the Rev. G. W. KITCHIN, M.A. (Oxford, 1881.)
5. *Letter to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone on the Statutes of the University of Oxford Commission*. By the Right Hon. MOUNTAGUE BERNARD, D.C.L. (London, 1882.)
6. *Annual Reports of the Delegacy of Students not belonging to any College or Hall*. (Oxford, 1868-93.)

IT is now well-nigh a generation ago <sup>1</sup> since a large meeting of resident graduates was held in the Hall of Oriel College to consider the question of the extension of the University, with a view especially to the education of persons needing assistance, and desirous of admission into the Christian ministry. The time was ripe for such a discussion, and the movement found abundant support among the most influential members of the University. The antagonists of University reform, that is, in any wide and liberal sense, who for years had held their ground against changes or innovations, were completely outnumbered and practically silenced by the weight of opinion arrayed against them. At the head of the University Extension Committee then nominated was the Provost of Oriel as chairman, with the Principal of Brasenose as vice-chairman; and every college or hall, with one or two exceptions, had its representatives. The appointment of so large a committee (there were over eighty graduates on it) was a strong proof of the general feeling of the necessity for common action, and such a brilliant list of distinguished men augured well for the practical outcome of their deliberations. But the champions of reform were confronted by many difficulties when they addressed themselves to the details of their work. Oxford is the natural stronghold of criticism and of enthusiasm for novel and, perhaps at times, nebulous projects. As soon as public interest became fairly aroused, the supply of suggestions, more or less practical,

<sup>1</sup> The date of the meeting was November 16, 1865.

would be at least equal to the demand, and, doubtless, the members of the Extension Committee were favoured with a plethora of schemes elaborated by the fertile brains of well-meaning, if sometimes mistaken, enthusiasts. To expedite their labours they appointed six sub-committees to consider and report upon the various plans of University Extension which had commended themselves to their judgment. The subjects submitted to the consideration of these sub-committees are given in a pamphlet entitled *Oxford University Extension*, published by Macmillan and Co. in 1866, together with the subsequent reports and recommendations based upon them. It will not be necessary to quote them here *in extenso*, but any one interested in the subject will do well to refer to the pamphlet just mentioned; it is a perfect storehouse of facts and figures connected with the cost and other details of what may be called the domestic life of an undergraduate, with many shrewd observations bearing upon the same. Although somewhat foreign to the purpose of this article, the exhaustive report of sub-committee No. 1 well deserves a moment's attention. There can be no doubt that many leading Churchmen threw themselves vigorously into the new movement from grave anxiety about the insufficient supply of University candidates for ordination. In other words, as the original question before the Extension Committee most plainly shows, the needs of the Church of England were a highly important factor in stimulating University reform. The members of this sub-committee were invited to consider the suggestion for extending the University by founding a college or hall on a large scale with a view not exclusively, but especially, to the education of persons needing assistance and desirous of admission into the Christian ministry. And well they did their work, for to them is due the credit of establishing Keble College, now, and for many years past, one of the best managed and most useful institutions within the University.

But we are more immediately concerned with the labours of sub-committee No. 3. To the members of that committee was assigned the question of the expediency of allowing undergraduates to reside in lodgings, whether with or without connexion with colleges, and to recommend provisions for securing their discipline and tuition. Now, it is obvious that in the scheme here set forth two distinct principles were implied. To utilize the machinery of colleges and halls already in existence, and by framing less stringent regulations to make them capable of satisfying the larger require-

ments of the day was one thing, but to create a new class of students of a type unknown in Oxford since the days of Archbishop Laud was another and a bolder step in the direction of University Extension. Of course the advocates of a new departure, as it was thought to be, might easily have justified their policy by pointing to the condition of things in mediæval times before a college or hall of any sort was established in Oxford. But, as it seems, they preferred to take the line of considering the measures best calculated to serve the interests of the University, as it then was, and of the less wealthy but studious young men throughout the country whose ambition to take a degree at Oxford was baulked by the heavy cost of a University course.

The recommendations framed by this sub-committee were as follows :

(1) 'That a Delegacy with a paid secretary be appointed, whose duty it should be (a) to grant licences to students under certain conditions to reside in lodgings, either with or without connexion with a College or Hall. (b) To grant licences to any persons applying to keep lodging-houses for the purpose of receiving such students.

(2) 'That the Delegacy have all the authority over these students which a College has over its members, and also full power over the lodging-house keepers, and that it should frame rules for the management of the houses, and the discipline of the students.

(3) 'That University Tutors be appointed as the Academical Guardians of the unattached students and the medium of communication with their parents, but not necessarily to take part in their instruction ; and that a reasonable fee be paid by each unattached student. That the tutor have the power of entering the lodgings of his pupils whenever he thinks proper.'

In recommending this scheme for the consideration of the members of the University, the committee was careful to explain that it must be regarded as strictly experimental. No doubt they had opportunities enough of discovering for themselves what the general attitude of the colleges would be towards more elastic regulations about University residence, but the number of students who were likely to avail themselves of the unattached system was an unknown quantity altogether. Some, it is said, were of opinion that they would come in crowds, and the University would be swamped by an influx of young men of a stamp hitherto unknown in Oxford, and not, generally speaking, much to be desired at an educational centre of high and historic repute. Others, again, were less extravagant in their views, and predicted that the number of candidates likely to be attracted by the

new regulations would not, after all, be very great. The committee, apparently, were disposed to accept this latter view of the situation, and drew up their recommendations accordingly.

It is a matter of some difficulty to follow exactly the course of University legislation at this time, for the *Oxford University Gazette*, now regularly issued during term time, was not established until 1870. The recommendations, however, of the sub-committee, consisting as it did of graduates of the highest reputation and influence within the University,<sup>1</sup> were eventually accepted by Convocation, and a statute was framed, and passed on June 11, 1868, practically in accordance with their suggestions. A delegacy was created, styled 'The Delegacy for Licensing Lodging-houses' ('Delegati ad ædes licentiandas'), consisting of the Vice-Chancellor (then Dr. Leighton, Warden of All Souls), the two proctors and two stipendiary delegates (in lieu of a paid secretary), viz. the Rev. G. W. Kitchin (now Dr. Kitchin, Dean of Winchester) and the Rev. G. S. Ward, of Magdalen Hall, now known as Hertford College. Tutors were appointed as the statute required, and the delegates issued a public notice that they would be prepared to receive the names of candidates for matriculation in the following October term.

In this way the unattached (or non-collegiate) system first made its *début* in Oxford—as a department that is under the control of the lodging-house delegates.

The number of candidates who presented themselves for examination on October 15, 1868, was eighteen, and in the first year's report (1868-69) it is stated that the entries were in all fifty-nine, of whom forty-three were admitted by matriculation and sixteen by migration, and the removals were six in number, thus leaving a balance of fifty-three. At the end of the academical year, 1892-93, there were on the books of the delegacy 453 names—graduates and undergraduates together. It is further stated in the last report (1892-93) that during the past twenty-five years as many as 2,279 persons have become non-collegiate students; of these, unfortunately, 1,045 have migrated to colleges and halls in Oxford, amounting to an annual loss of more than forty students, or nearly 46 per cent. As a proof of the

<sup>1</sup> The members of sub-committee No. 3 were Dr. Liddell, then Dean of Christ Church, chairman; Professor Mountague Bernard, Professor Sir B. C. Brodie, Rev. J. Griffiths, Rev. J. J. Hornby, Rev. Edwin Palmer, Rev. Professor Bartholomew Price, Professor Goldwin Smith, Rev. S. W. Wayte.



increasing usefulness and prosperity of the institution, it may be added that, in Michaelmas term 1893, the number of students who matriculated as non-collegiates was larger than the number of entries at any college or hall either in Oxford or in Cambridge—Trinity College, Cambridge, alone excepted. It may not be without interest, perhaps, to many persons who are at the present time watching the progress of University Extension, to learn how, from so modest a beginning, the non-collegiate system has reached its present magnitude and importance.

The first noteworthy step taken by the University in placing the new constitution on a more independent, and therefore more satisfactory, footing occurred in 1870. To quote the words of the report for that year: 'At Easter last [1870] this delegacy [the delegacy of students not attached to any college or hall] was severed from that of lodging-houses, and at the same time the system of tutors was put an end to, with reservation of those students who had already placed themselves under the care of tutors.' Two of the new delegates appointed were stipendiary, and were to be styled censors of students not attached to any college or hall. To them were transferred the duties hitherto discharged by the tutors. The Rev. G. W. Kitchin and the Rev. G. S. Ward were the censors first appointed under the new regulations.<sup>1</sup> In the following year—*i.e.* on April 25, 1871—a statute passed Convocation by which the delegates were empowered to accept as a student any person who, in their judgment, was likely to derive educational advantages from becoming a matriculated member of the University. 'One gentleman,' say the delegates, 'has already taken advantage of this statute by offering the French and Spanish languages instead of Greek, and four more have announced their wish to matriculate under it.' By enacting this statute the University practically removed the last obstacle which barred the way to that class of students who aim at something more than a school education, and yet have not time or means enough to devote the necessary three years for a degree. It was a fitting complement to the excellent reforms initiated in 1868. Strange to say, for many years the existence of this new regulation was not as generally known as it should have been, and it is only within the past two or three years that any considerable number of students have taken advantage of it. As a matter

<sup>1</sup> The names of the first delegates were: the Vice-Chancellor, the Principal of St. Mary Hall (Dr. Chase), the Rev. C. L. Wingfield (All Souls), and the Censors.

of fact these special students, as they are called, are the nineteenth-century representatives of the typical Oxford students of early mediæval times, and we may yet live to see in Oxford a revival of that spirit of higher education which scorns to fetter itself by examination and by unworthy considerations of the commercial value of a high place in the class list.

For a few years after 1871 no important change was effected in the constitution of the non-collegiate body, but the number of entries increased annually, almost by 'leaps and bounds.' In 1870-71 forty-nine students were admitted by matriculation. In 1878-79 no fewer than 119 were so admitted. This number has never been exceeded, and the normal supply of candidates at the present day (upon an average of the last five years) may be taken as about ninety per annum.<sup>1</sup> After a pause of five or six years the delegates again addressed themselves to the important work of improving the organization of the system. They had long been convinced of the mischievous effects of allowing undergraduates, more especially at the outset of the academical career, to trust to their own judgment in the matter of tuition. From motives of economy many of them either declined individual assistance altogether or betook themselves to incompetent persons to help them. The results were often so disastrous that in one report the delegates felt bound to notice the discreditable fact that one half of the candidates for Responsions in that year had failed, and they made an appeal to the younger students to bestir themselves. New powers had been conferred by statute, and the management of all fees and dues paid by the students was vested in the delegacy, with a provision that after all necessary and statutable payments had been made, the surplus, if any, should be applied as the delegates might think expedient for the common good of all the students. In 1877-78 the financial position of the delegacy was sufficiently strong to enable them to take up the work of tuition on a small scale. Two lecturers were appointed at first, only to supervise the work of students reading for Responsions, but the scheme has worked so well that tuition is now provided in nearly all subjects, pass or class, for a fixed sum of 2*l.* 2*s.* per term, and each non-collegiate student is placed under the care of a tutor.

We must now consider briefly the changes which were effected in the system by the University commissioners ap-

<sup>1</sup> The highest total of entries ever reached in any one year was 132 in 1875-76, but this number included thirty-one students who had migrated from colleges.

pointed under the Act of Parliament in the year 1877. In the voluminous report issued at the close of the parliamentary inquiry, there is abundant evidence to show that the commissioners were keenly interested in the development of the non-collegiate body, and were prepared to meet the requirements of less wealthy students by setting apart a sum of money sufficient to place the system on a sound financial basis. They decreed, therefore, that the University should pay out of its revenues for the assistance of the delegates: (1) 400*l.* per annum towards the stipend of a censor (or censors), and (2) a sum, to be ultimately not less than 600*l.* per annum, which was to be devoted to the payment of tutors and lecturers for the said students, or in maintaining scholarships or exhibitions tenable by such students, or otherwise in encouraging study among them, or in diminishing the expense of their University education. And it was still further provided that, 'so soon as the state of the University revenues would admit, the University should be further charged with the expenditure of a capital sum of not less than 7,000*l.* in providing offices, a library, and such other buildings as might be necessary for these students.'

The University on its part introduced a new statute in the early part of the year 1881, by which it was enacted that for the future there should be one censor in place of two, and the delegates were formally required to appoint tutors and lecturers to give instruction. The undergraduate students were to be required to attend the lectures given by the aforesaid tutors and lecturers, and to pay fees for the same.<sup>1</sup>

The following four or five years must always be regarded as a period of exceptional good fortune for the non-collegiate body, and of the happiest augury for its successful development and permanent prosperity. The University, as in duty bound, was prepared to carry out as far as possible the obligations imposed upon it by the commissioners, but few persons were sanguine enough to hope that the 7,000*l.* required for the non-collegiate buildings would be available within ten or even twenty years to come. In Michaelmas term, 1882, the late Master of Balliol became Vice-Chancellor of the University, and from the day of his appointment to that office he devoted himself heart and soul to improving the status of the non-collegiate students. In spite of all that had been done for them by the University itself and by the

<sup>1</sup> It will have been observed that the previous action of the delegates (in 1877) in appointing lecturers and providing partial instruction was based upon the powers conferred by an earlier statute.

commissioners, there were still grievances which seemed to call for redress. The name 'unattached students' (a misleading translation of *Scholares nulli Collegio vel Aulæ ascripti*), by which they were commonly designated, was hateful to them. The practice of migration outwards, which robbed the body of half its strength numerically, and of far more than half its strength in *personnel*, had a depressing and demoralizing effect on the tone of the rest. And, finally, all the officials, from the Censor downwards, complained loudly of the insufficient accommodation to be found in the old Clarendon Buildings for lectures and for the general business of the delegacy. It is true that the commissioners had instructed the University to provide suitable buildings, but no limit of time was definitely fixed within which their instructions were to be carried into effect, and the need of larger and better accommodation was daily becoming more urgent. The new Vice-Chancellor quickly showed his determination to introduce a better state of things. Within a few months a set of lecture rooms in the Examination Schools, High Street—inferior to none in the whole University—was assigned to the non-collegiate tutors for their use in term time. The erection of a suitable block of buildings to serve as the permanent head-quarters of the non-collegiate students was, of course, a far more serious and complicated business. The University, not long before, had expended an enormous sum on the New Examination Schools, and public opinion, actuated by a natural feeling of reaction, was distinctly unfavourable to any project for embarking on a fresh outlay. In the teeth of difficulties which would have crushed an ordinary person down to the ground, the Master of Balliol carried his point, and a handsome building, contiguous to the Examination Schools, was designed and begun before he retired from office. The building was finally completed in 1888, and is now the official head-quarters of the body.

A change of name also was effected in 1884, and the clumsy expression of 'students not belonging to any College or Hall,' with its numerous variations, as well as the objectionable title 'Unattached Students,' were expunged from the Statute Book. The new name, 'Non-collegiate Students,' is certainly a better designation, but many were sanguine enough to hope that the Master's genius would have devised a more satisfactory appellation. It cannot be defended on historical grounds, for there were students in Oxford long enough before any college or hall was thought of: on the score of antiquity, therefore, the non-collegiates can establish

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a claim for priority before all collegiate institutions, whereas the name implies the reverse order of events. The repeal of the Laudian Statute of 1636, which required 'that all scholars, be they of what condition they may, shall within a week from their first arrival at the University be admitted into some college or hall,' was not in any sense an innovation; it was rather a sweeping away of restrictions which had too long been tolerated from a mistaken view of the position and duties of a great University. The charge of introducing an 'innovation,' so commonly applied to the action of the University in 1868, is a far more just designation of the establishment of the collegiate system—an *imperium* that is *in imperio*. The non-collegiates, so-called, are students of the University of Oxford—nothing more, and nothing less—and the title, University students, exactly describes what they are.<sup>1</sup> The whole is greater than its part, and if it were not that the people of this country are but too commonly not well informed about University matters, they would surely recognize the fact that to belong to the University is certainly more important than any collegiate connexion. To call students non-collegiates conveys to many persons a sort of impression that they must be non-university as well. So difficult is it nowadays in this country to dissociate the conception of a University in its proper sense from that of a group or aggregate of societies owning allegiance thereto.

With regard to migrations outwards (the delegates had long before set their faces against the traffic inwards which was tolerated in the early days of the system) the Master of Balliol was not disposed to listen to the suggestions of those persons who clamoured for heroic measures. The practice was unusual, but not contrary to statute, and the general feeling throughout the University was decidedly in favour of leaving things as they were. Indeed, from the nature of things it may be expected that the feeling, more or less pronounced, in favour of tolerating migration will die hard enough in

<sup>1</sup> This name was most strongly advocated by the present Dean of Winchester, then censor of 'students not attached to any college or hall,' in a letter addressed to the Vice-Chancellor when the statute of 1881 was before Congregation. The moment, perhaps, was inopportune for such a change to be accepted by the University, and the recommendation unfortunately fell through. The name St. Catharine's, now adopted by the various athletic clubs belonging to the non-collegiate body, has puzzled many. A social club, then a great *desideratum* for students, was started at St. Catharine's House, 29 Broad Street, in 1874. For want of a better title the originators of that club availed themselves of the name of the house in which it was located, and, although the original club has long ago disappeared, the name survives.

Oxford. For all that, the subject is a painful one to loyal non-collegiates, for the practice is constantly depriving them of energetic colleagues, and serves as a perpetual reminder of the false conception, which obtains throughout the country, of the relation of their body to the University. Again and again are chivalrous-minded undergraduate students, who feel it to be their duty to remain as they are, driven to migrate to a college from pressure at home. They know well enough how foreign it is to Oxford sentiment to desert the friends of their early University days, and transfer their allegiance to a new society. But such considerations appear to weigh little with the British parent, and conscientious scruples, which are valid to the mind of the University man, are ignored or overborne. It must not be assumed, however, that Professor Jowett was indifferent to the feelings of non-collegiates on this much vexed question of migration, but he maintained that the true remedy in the long run would be found in the improved status of the body which judicious management would certainly effect. And his expectations have been certainly verified by results. During his term of office (1882-1886) the proportion of removals by migration to the entries by matriculation fell from sixty per cent. to something less than fifty-five per cent., and the decrease has lately been much more marked, for the average annual migration in the five years (1888-93) has been thirty-three per cent., a fall that is of twenty-two per cent. when compared with the figures of 1885-6. But the annual loss of one-third of its strength is still a serious drain upon the body.

But the kindly interest of the late Master of Balliol in the fortunes of the non-collegiates was not exhausted by the great services already enumerated. The financial position of the athletic clubs, notably the boat club, had long been a cause of grave anxiety to the censor and the delegates. The junior proctor of 1882-3, Mr. A. L. Smith, of Balliol College, was invited to examine the accounts of the various clubs, and suggest a plan for their better administration. Mr. Smith, with the assistance of the censor and one of the tutors, collected a sum of money sufficient to wipe off the outstanding debts, and he also initiated a scheme of combined clubs, which has worked most satisfactorily. Indeed, the able administration of the finances of the clubs by the present censor (the Rev. R. W. M. Pope, D.D.) has yielded such excellent results that a considerable balance is now standing to their credit. The key to this most prosperous condition of things is to be found in the fact that no expenses are incurred which cannot



be immediately paid in full—a most wholesome principle one would say to inculcate in Oxford.

There is yet another sphere in which one may recognize the handiwork of the late Master. The delegacy, as has been said, originally consisted of five persons, viz. the Vice-Chancellor, the two censors, and two resident graduates. As the non-collegiate body became more important, the number of delegates was reinforced by the addition of the two proctors. In 1883 the strength of the board was further increased, and the number of delegates is now twelve, including the Dean of Winchester, who was elected perpetual delegate in Michaelmas term of that year. The advantage to the students of such a large and influential governing body is too obvious to need comment. Questions affecting the control of the non-collegiates, and the general administration of that body, are submitted to the consideration of a number of graduates of the highest position and experience. Such measures, therefore, as are approved by them are sure to receive respectful attention in the University at large. But something of an anomaly exists here, for no non-collegiate graduate has, up to this date, been elected to serve on the board of delegates. The censor, as every one knows, is a host in himself, and no one pretends to affirm that the delegates have been, in any sense, unequal to the responsibility put upon them. The successful progress of the non-collegiate body during the past twenty-five years serves as an emphatic disproof of any such assumption. But it might be supposed that those who have gone through their undergraduate course as loyal non-collegiates, and, in a sense, have staked their all upon the fortunes of that body, would be well qualified to give an opinion on important questions brought before the delegates. It is not likely, however, that the liberal spirit which has actuated the University in its relation to non-collegiate students will stop short at such a simple act of justice when the time is opportune, and the man or men are forthcoming.

And now the question may fairly be asked, how far the expectations of the advocates of University reform have been realized; or, in other words, what substantial results have been achieved by the non-collegiate system in return for the liberal assistance and encouragement bestowed upon it by the University? The principle laid down at its inception was, as has been said before, to provide University education at the smallest possible cost, and the board of delegates has zealously maintained that principle throughout. The members of that body by their action have shown conclusively that

they will not hamper themselves by incorporating in the system the mischievous features of older societies. Like the first champions of reform they have held that the common idea, quite justified by the condition of things thirty years ago, that the Universities were a sort of expensive public school open to those only who had abundant means, was detrimental to the best interests of Oxford. The splendid endowments entrusted to the University had been bequeathed by men whose object it was to help the needy and render education less costly. In lieu of the common practice of setting apart a considerable sum out of college revenues for scholarships and exhibitions, only too often gained by the sons of wealthy men who could afford to provide for them the special tuition indispensable for success, the delegates adopted the more satisfactory principle of devoting their funds to reducing the cost all round of a University course. To begin with, the gain to the University in point of numbers has been large. In the twenty-five years (1868-93) 2,035 students have matriculated as non-collegiates, a number equivalent to an annual increment of nearly thirteen per cent.<sup>1</sup> But it may be urged that the mere increase in the number of undergraduates is not a satisfactory proof of the success of any scheme of University Extension. And this is true, for the delegates might have framed their conditions of entrance in so lax a manner as to entice all sorts and conditions of men, good and bad, to avail themselves of the privilege of joining the University. Let us, therefore, follow the fortunes of those who have come under their care. In addition to the 2,035 just mentioned, there have been also 244 entries by migration, and 171 re-entries, or names replaced by former students, together forming a gross total of 2,450 students. On the other side the outgoings have been—by migration 1,045, by leaving the University with or without a degree 952,<sup>2</sup> and the balance, 453 (of whom 243 are graduates) are still on the books.

To turn our attention first to the 1,045 students who have migrated, seventy-nine of whom gained scholarships or exhibitions direct from the body, we find that the honours

<sup>1</sup> In this period 17,876 students in all have matriculated at Oxford. In 1865 the number of undergraduates on the books of the different colleges and halls was 1,825; in 1892 it was 3,232.

<sup>2</sup> This apparently large total includes 265 graduates whose names are no longer on the books of the delegacy, the 171 undergraduates who have replaced their names, the special students, and, of course, a considerable number who from choice or insufficient means have betaken themselves to other ways of seeking a livelihood. The number of disciplinary cases has been small.

obtained by them have been distinctly creditable. About forty have been placed in the first classes of the different honour schools of the Second Public Examination, and 260 or more in the second and lower classes, while forty-six of these had previously gained distinction in the First Public Examination. In all 306 of these students have obtained honours, or about thirty per cent. of their number. Without going so far as to assert that they would have distinguished themselves equally well if they had remained non-collegiate, it is obvious that no society could be deprived of so large a number of promising members without serious detriment to its reputation in the University. And, worse still for the relative position of that body, the loss to the non-collegiates has been a great gain to its rivals. The liberal policy of the representatives of the colleges in establishing a non-collegiate system, disinterested though it undoubtedly was, has certainly resulted in creating a very substantial *quid pro quo*.

But the fortunes of the non-collegiates themselves present a more legitimate subject for our present consideration. In the last Report issued by the delegates is to be found the following tabular statement of honours obtained by non-collegiates:—

Class	Second Public Examination							First Public Examination		B.C.L. Examination
	Literæ Humaniores	Mathematics	Jurisprudence	Modern History <sup>1</sup>	Theology	Natural Science	Oriental Studies	Classics	Mathematics	
First	—	—	1	2	11	2	1	2	1	1
Second	4	1	1	11	23	8	2	10	5	1
Third	9	1	8	24	36	8	—	39	7	1
Fourth	9	2	4	13	17	2	—	—	—	—

*University Scholarships.<sup>2</sup> University Exhibitions. University Prizes.*

Denyer and Johnson (3).

Davis Chinese (2).

Arnold Essay.

Pusey and Ellerton (3).

Taylorian (2).

English Essay.

Junior Kennicott.

Ellerton Essay.

Davis Chinese (4).

Syriac Version.

Chinese.

Senior LXX.

Taylorian (2).

Junior LXX (3).

Junior Greek Testament.

<sup>1</sup> Also one Second Class in the School of Law and Modern History.

<sup>2</sup> The figures in parentheses denote the number of occasions on which the distinction has been gained.

The statement speaks for itself. Such a brilliant list of

distinctions could not have been gained unless the non-collegiate body contained within itself, in spite of migrations, a large number of able students, and it is evident, also, that the tuition given must be of the highest order and efficiency. In the pass schools last year 317 candidates presented themselves for examination, of whom 236 were successful, an average, that is, of seventy-four per cent.

But now that the development of the non-collegiate system may be regarded as an assured success, the question is not infrequently raised how it is that the number of candidates year by year is not twice or even three times as great. The advantages to any student, class or pass, are most obvious, and the cost of tuition—and that, too, of the best sort—is but half the sum charged by many a school of even second-rate repute. If, say the inquirers, the financial depression from which the middle class is now suffering is really as acute as it is commonly alleged to be, the non-collegiate system must be a sort of godsend to hundreds of impoverished parents. And so it is; but the argument cuts both ways. If bad times have compelled many University candidates to abandon any thought of a collegiate career, they have also cut off the supply of ambitious young men who, in more prosperous times, would have been able to command the small sum necessary to get a degree. And it must also be remembered that a scholar or exhibitioner of a college receives, quite apart from the prestige of his position, an income large enough to extinguish practically the difference between the cost of a collegiate and a non-collegiate course. There are exhibitions, it is true, open to non-collegiates,<sup>1</sup> but, as has been said above, it is foreign to the scheme to devote more than the surplus funds to such an object, and the interests of the body will be best served by maintaining the highest possible standard of efficiency in tuition. No doubt as time goes on more benefactors, public and private, will be moved to establish scholarships or exhibitions, and the tone of the society will be substantially improved by a strong nucleus of students of scholarly attainments. Under present circumstances, however, the body is completely outbid in this department by its more wealthy neighbours.

There are some persons, indeed, and those, too, it must be admitted, men of great experience and foresight, who maintain that the non-collegiate system must eventually 'win

<sup>1</sup> There are now about fifteen exhibitions (including the Shute Scholarship), which have been founded for the benefit of students.

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the day.' Perhaps; but such a revolution cannot possibly come about without a radical change in public opinion.

'Englishmen,' to quote Dean Kitchin's words in the letter already referred to, 'hardly regard the University as a place of learning and education; they dwell persistently on the social advantages of the place, and send their sons to Oxford to "make friends," and are specially happy if these "friends" are persons who would not care much to know them at home.'

This statement, severe as it is, is probably not far wide of the mark, and until a healthier view is taken of a University education the best efforts of the friends of poor and intelligent men will be greatly thwarted. As the outlook now is, there is little prospect of the non-collegiate spirit becoming predominant. Nay, rather, one would say that there is a danger, not altogether remote, that the whole system may at any time be seriously crippled by the action of a great college. Suppose, for instance, that the fellows of such an institution, moved by a lofty, chivalrous conception of the heavy responsibilities laid upon them by the inheritance of splendid endowments, were to say—

'We will devote our means and energies to the task of making the University accessible to all who are worthy of her. We will not merely offer a few scholarships, to be carried off by those who are rich enough to secure the best technical training beforehand; we will provide teaching and rooms and commons, at a nominal rate, to all whom we can afford to take within our walls. The undergraduate shall no longer be expected to subsidize and support us; on the contrary, we will support him while we teach him, on condition that he is intelligent and lives frugally, and diligently makes use of the advantage he enjoys.'<sup>1</sup>

And there is no doubt that a college offering all the advantages which the non-collegiates now enjoy, plus a name intelligible to the many, would attract much custom to its doors. But the University, having put its hand to such an excellent work, will not be likely, if such a crisis were to arise, to abandon the scheme. There would be vitality enough left in it to outlive the catastrophe, and the good friends of the cause would rally round it. It is only to be regretted that having done so much to re-establish the principle of University students, many of those friends should be blind to the fact that, while giving much to their poorer brethren, they are also withholding much. As between college and college, the practice of migration may be said to be almost non-existent; but in relation to the non-collegiates, as has

<sup>1</sup> The extract quoted above is taken from Dr. Kitchin's letter.

been shown, a very different attitude is commonly maintained. The moral effect on the whole body of a prompt refusal on the part of colleges to entertain applications for migration would be most salutary. The better sort of students who object to migrate except under great external pressure would be strengthened in their position, while malcontents would receive a wholesome lesson in the rebuke which a refusal virtually implies. The non-collegiates can only hope to gain their true place as University students by the public recognition, within the University itself, that they have a right to be treated just as other undergraduates are treated. If an invidious distinction between their status and that of collegiate students is in any way encouraged—and this is just what migration means—then the University is at once harsh in her treatment of her nearest offspring, and not quite ingenuous in her professions to the country. A University education which has to be purchased at the price of accepting conditions galling to high-spirited and sensitive young men cannot, at bottom, be honestly described as other than costly. Fortunately for the non-collegiates, certain colleges are already known to discountenance the practice; and if a like feeling of respect for their position became universal in Oxford, public opinion outside the University would be safe to follow suit.

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#### ART. X.—MEDIÆVAL PREACHING IN ITALY: FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

1. *Rosarium Sermonum predicabilium ad faciliorem predicantium commoditatem novissimè compilatum.* (Printed 1503.)
2. *Mariale eximii viri Bernardini de Bustis ordinis seraphici Francisci de singulis festivitibus beate Virginis per modum sermonum tractans.* (Printed 1502.)

IN the immense scope and variety of subjects which marked the literary industry of the mediæval schools of theology, we have ample means of becoming acquainted with every phase of that 'Handmaid of the Sciences.' Ascetic, dogmatic, scholastic, exegetical, liturgical, homiletic literature, and hymnology, all attract our notice and rivet our attention as we survey the well-stocked shelves of such a collection.

If the *ensemble* be at all complete, no branch of any of



these departments ought to be lacking in materials for prosecuting a thorough study of the numberless lessons which it is capable of conveying.

The pursuit itself is far from being as dry and unattractive as it is generally presumed to be. On the contrary, it possesses a peculiar charm of its own, and it may safely be alleged—without any affectation of a morbid love of that darkness which is supposed to be the normal character of the entire Middle Ages—that no one can be associated with certain of the great minds who adorned this epoch without being, in some respects at least, both wiser and better for the contact. Large stores of available treasure are to be found even among the least hopeful-looking tomes of this order. But they must be sought out by those who will be content to exercise patience, and sometimes to rest satisfied with the discovery of but *one* pearl amidst a perfect dust-heap of literary rubbish and ecclesiastical extravagance.

We desire to invite the consideration of our readers to a very remarkable volume, little known to theological readers in general. Its contents comprise, in two divisions, the singular productions of one Bernardino de' Busti, who attained no small eminence and celebrity as a popular preacher in Italy towards the close of the fifteenth century.

At the same time, without at all designing it, he does us no inconsiderable service by presenting, with equal *naïveté* and seriousness in the style of his revelations, most vivid pictures of that lamentably unscriptural and unscrupulous moral and religious teaching which prevailed in the Roman Church at the period to which we refer.

It will be expedient to preface our observations on the preacher and his doctrine by a few introductory remarks.

I. In the first place, then, our readers must bear in mind that the religious instruction, some specimens of which we propose to bring to their notice, was addressed for the most part to popular audiences possessed of extremely limited knowledge and actuated by the narrowest sympathies; and that the discourses were delivered at a time when Italian society, and especially Papal circles, were full of the most deadly corruption. Bribery and avarice, treachery, poisoning, and murder were rife in many quarters. To say nothing of the absolute sway with which oppression and tyranny of every kind were exercised, unbridled luxury<sup>1</sup> and sensuality ran riot. Upon these topics painfully detailed accusations fill

<sup>1</sup> Bernardino de' Busti himself deems that the luxury of the Roman Church in his day was fatal to it.—*Rosarium*, fol. xxvii. A.

the pages of the national historians. And, as if to crown all the infamy of this degraded chronicle, there was then seated upon the highest pinnacle of the Roman ecclesiastical dignity the most shameless profligate that the sword of Divine justice had ever spared to fill up the complete measure of his iniquity. The tragic scenes which concluded the life, and those which immediately followed upon the death of this man, Pope Alexander VI., are painted in awful colours by a master-hand, only a few years after the events.<sup>1</sup>

We shall learn just now whether any and what sort of remedy for this epidemic of moral disorders our author is satisfied to administer in the course of his very extensive collection of addresses, which fill no less than 587 folios (*i.e.* 1174 pages), of double columns, closely printed, with numberless contractions. We shall have to consider, on the other hand, whether the preacher, being preoccupied with the exaltation of one absorbing ideal, which he pursues through the above-mentioned mass of materials, is content to pass calmly over these turbid waters which threaten a moral deluge. He is not unaware of the misery and guilt which prevail all around; but he reposes securely in the false calm of his sanctioned idolatry, the retention of which can only be explained, as a recent Italian writer has interpreted it, *viz.* by attributing it to the residuum of hereditary paganism which ever clings to the national religion—an imperishable principle which Fred. Ozanam maintained to be an inalienable instinct of human nature.

II. With respect to the language in which the mediæval preachers of Italy were accustomed to deliver their sermons, it is to be noted that, according to Fontanini,<sup>2</sup> not only in the thirteenth, but also in the two following centuries, it was the custom to preach in Latin; and if sometimes the vulgar tongue was employed, 'this was not allowed in the churches, but only in the squares and the open places near them.' It is true that this representation of the habits of the early preachers has been disputed as in some measure inexact. As a matter of fact, we know that in the case of Savonarola, when his sermons were first taken down at the time of their delivery they were always spoken in Italian; but when the great preacher himself wrote them out for the press, it was easier for him to express his thoughts in Latin. The truth of the matter seems to be that it was a very usual practice to preach

<sup>1</sup> Guicciardini, *Della Historia d' Italia*, libro vi. fol. 162, ed. Venet. 1580.

<sup>2</sup> Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Ital.* tom. iv. p. 482.

in Latin; and sometimes the discourse originally pronounced in that language was afterwards expounded to the people in the vulgar tongue. An instance is recorded in which this was actually done at the consecration of the church of S. Maria delle Carceri, when a sermon delivered in Latin (*sapienter*, i.e. in the learned diction), by the Patriarch of Aquileia, was afterwards vernacularised (*maternaliter*, in the mother tongue, is the historian's phrase) by Gherard, Bishop of Padua.

The reason why Latin was thus retained as the vehicle for formal addresses from the pulpit was owing to the belief that that language was more suited to the dignity of religion. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the vernacular tongue of Italy, at the period of which we are treating, was not so far divergent from Latin but that even persons who had not made any special study of the latter tongue could still understand it in a very fair degree. Works written in the Italian of that epoch and still surviving, retain a considerable amount of Latin words and phrases. Hence the people who were contemporaneous with such writings could understand the classical phraseology—modified as it necessarily was for such use—with much less difficulty than it could now be comprehended by a modern Italian populace. And further, although the preachers of this period employed Latin in their sermons, they were constantly in the habit of freely introducing as much as possible, not only vernacular idioms and sayings, but narratives, anecdotes, and poetical quotations, adapting what they wished to inculcate in such a manner as to suit the rude capacities and unrefined taste of their audience.

We may add that the work to which these observations are introductory possesses a claim upon our notice apart from its use as illustrating mediæval popular preaching. Throughout certain portions of this large store of sermons, on which we propose to comment, we find most important contributions to a knowledge of several special topics which have a very weighty bearing on the popular devotional theology of the Church of Rome.

We shall arrange our remarks in the following order:

1. A brief sketch of the personal history of the writer.
2. One or two literary characteristics of his style.
3. Some popular legends, of which his sermons have been the channel through which they have been handed down to our own day, and which are still recommended, as well as quoted, as edifying food for 'Catholics.'
4. The controversial bearing of some of the author's statements.

I. Bernardino de' Busti, so called—not, as has sometimes been asserted,<sup>1</sup> from a place in the neighbourhood of Milan—but from his family connexion with the illustrious stock of the De' Busti which had flourished in Milan from very remote times,<sup>2</sup> was by birth a Milanese. He was the son of Lorenzo de' Busti, a distinguished member of the noble college of Milanese lawyers, and for thirty-two years chamberlain of the city. He first saw light in the early years of the fifteenth century, and survived certainly until 1497,<sup>3</sup> and probably beyond that date, but the actual year of his death is uncertain. About 1471, at Legnano, under Christopher Vanisi, he was enrolled as a member of the order of Observants Minor of S. Francis. He became a fellow-student, and a 'religious' in the same fraternity with Michele de Carcano, who had previously been his teacher; both being thus made associates in a society of which it has been sarcastically observed that 'many of the members seemed to divide their affections between loving mankind and hating the Dominicans.'

Stimulated by the reputation, as well as by the example, of his namesake, Bernardino da Siena (*d.* 20 May, 1444), he soon attained celebrity as a preacher, and was listened to with great applause in many cities of Italy. 'But in reading these sermons now,' observes the Italian historiographer, 'instead of awakening us to piety and compunction, they move us to laughter, not merely by reason of the rudeness of the style, but on account of the puerile simplicity and the ridiculous absurdity of the stories with which they abound.'

It is well known that the ludicrous constituted a very con-

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* by Wadindus ap. Argelati, *Bibliothec. Scriptor. Mediolan.*, tom. i. pars 1. p. ccl, a; and by the late Rev. J. E. Tyler in 'What is Romanism?' No. IX. p. 13 note.

<sup>2</sup> In some verses, giving his judgment on the *Mariale*, Domenico Panzonius, of the same order of preachers, says:

'Bernardine ideo, Bustinà à gente vetustà.'

In the late Rev. Jas. Ford's enumeration of celebrated Italian preachers of the Middle Ages, that writer unaccountably omits all mention of Bernardino (Pref. to his translation of the *Quaresimale* of Segneri, vol. i. p. x).

<sup>3</sup> Tiraboschi, tom. vi. p. 1113. His life thus extended through the pontificates of at least ten heads of the Roman Church, some of whom were remarkable men, though on very different grounds, *viz.* Martin V. (Colonna), Eugenius IV., Felix V. (Amadeus of Savoy, the anti-Pope raised to the throne by the Council of Basle after the deposition of Eugenius IV.), Nicholas V., Calixtus III. (Alphonso Borgia), Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini), Paul II., Sixtus IV. (who gave his approbation to B. de' Busti's *Office of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary*), Innocent VIII., and Alexander VI. (Roderigo Borgia), to whom Bernardino dedicated the *Mariale*.

siderable element in the religious recreations of the Italian people ; and in this department the preaching friars especially seem to have allowed themselves, and to have been permitted to give, free scope to the licence of their story-telling propensities. It is generally supposed that this style of address was adopted either for the sake of 'playing up' to the popular feelings, or with the hope of gaining influence over the congregation by an amusing exhibition, which would not merely serve its purpose for the time, but also act as a preparation for more serious teaching when the occasion should present itself.

This explanation is, no doubt, correct so far as it goes. But we may suggest that there was a deeper and more politic reason underlying the above-named causes.

The oppression which weighed so heavily on Europe at the opening of the fourteenth century seems to have had the effect of discouraging a taste for learning, and to have enfeebled the attractions of both literature and art. In some countries—as, for example, in France, Germany, England, and Spain—one result of this depressed national condition was observable in the peculiar direction which acute and earnest thought began to take in the realms of speculation, and in those intricate and fathomless mysteries of the scholastic philosophy which Isaac D'Israeli contemptuously called 'fine-spun metaphysical cobwebs.'<sup>1</sup>

It was not so, however, in the more favoured land of Italy. 'Italy,' says Mr. Hallam, 'displayed an intellectual superiority in this period over the trans-Alpine nations which certainly had not appeared since the destruction of the Roman Empire.'<sup>2</sup> In that country, the liberty which she had acquired by the struggles of her spirited republics<sup>3</sup> secured to her varied peoples the fullest enjoyment of their intellectual capacities. The re-awakened genius of that sunny region disported itself in various forms of poetry, both as a vehicle for the expression of every feeling, and for the purpose of avoiding that pedantry of style to which the schools of native eloquence had been reduced by the accusations of heresy, unbelief, and epicureanism which had been alleged on the part of the priesthood.

But all avenues were closed to *political* activity ; and so this liberty, which had resulted in the ruin of political eloquence, produced the not unnatural consequence of giving an unbridled rein to a very free style of ecclesiastical discourse. One fruit of this decadence was that the extreme

<sup>1</sup> *Curiosities of Literature*, 1st ser. i. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Hallam, *Hist. of the M. A.* p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 694.

licence<sup>1</sup> which preachers permitted themselves to adopt, and which their auditors only too gladly encouraged them to exercise in their public homilies, degenerated into such 'adventurous indiscretions of talent' as occasionally culminated in exhibitions little short of broad clerical buffoonery.

Amongst the abuses thus introduced into sacred oratory, in the addresses delivered from the pulpit to popular assemblies in Italy, was that of making it a chief point to raise a laugh amongst the audience, as if that were the same thing as converting them.<sup>2</sup>

A similar mode of appeal to the risible faculties of the multitude prevailed also in France, examples of which are to be found among the sermons of Menot, Maillard, and others; fooleries which, as Tiraboschi sarcastically observes, would have been more fitly displayed in a theatre than in a pulpit.<sup>3</sup>

Strange as it may appear, even Savonarola himself, serious and austere a character as he was, allowed himself to be drawn into sanctioning the popular *dances*, during the performance of which the multitude were wont to sing profane songs and parodies in chorus, as they indulged in these exercises for their diversion. In his endeavour to turn their amusements to good account, Savonarola thought it desirable to hallow such diversions by providing words of grace for the accustomed songs. Accordingly (says the historian Pignotti) the best poet of the day, and an enthusiastic disciple of Savonarola, named Girolamo Benivieni, produced a number of holy dancing songs, which were sung by the people in company with the friars of St. Mark, who come forth from their convent into the piazza to dance with them in monster rounds formed of one friar and one citizen alternately, all joining hands!<sup>4</sup>

Of the 'risus paschales,'<sup>5</sup> or laughable sermons, delivered by the monks at Easter, we have a fair specimen in Long-

<sup>1</sup> 'A cette époque l'art de bien dire semblait autoriser toutes les licences, tous les excès de la parole . . . Louis XI., lui-même, tout despote qu'il était, ne se fût pas permis de fermer la bouche aux prédicateurs' (Paul Lacroix, *Sciences et Lettres au Moyen Age*, p. 592).

<sup>2</sup> Villari, *Life of Savonarola*, i. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Tirab. u.s. tom. vi. p. 1124: 'Verily, it was a sermon fitter to be preached on a stage than in a pulpit.'—Cardinal Wolsey to Dr. Barnes on his sermon at Cambridge.

<sup>4</sup> See Trollope, *History of Florence*, iv. 134-7.

<sup>5</sup> These 'risus paschales' and the dances sanctioned by Savonarola, seem to have been little if at all better, as amusements for Christians, than the 'canti carnascialeschi' composed by Lorenzo de' Medici, and sung at masquerades during the Carnival.



fellow's *Golden Legend*, where that writer scarcely exaggerates an address which was actually pronounced by the celebrated Dominican friar of the fifteenth century, Father Gabriel Barletta. In recording some memoirs of this latter celebrity, the historian Tiraboschi warns the preachers of his own day against forming their style on such a model. He intimates that Padre Barletta's sermons were more calculated to excite risibility in the auditors than either to persuade men or to touch their consciences. From the popularity of this Dominican's method of reaching the minds of the listeners to his discourses was derived the proverbial saying, 'Nescit predicare qui nescit Barlettare.'<sup>1</sup>

Though Bernardino de' Busti was a very prolific writer, our observations in this article will be limited to two great works which constitute the singular volume already referred to as having suggested the general subject of *Mediæval Preaching in Italy*. The first portion of the huge volume is entitled the *Rosarium*. It was printed in black letter by Henry Gran (at the cost of John Rynman<sup>2</sup> of Oringaw) at Hagenau in Alsace, dated July 24, 1503, and dedicated to Cardinal Bernardino. This work, in 223 folios, consists of a series of forty sermons technically known as a 'Quadragesimale' or 'Quaresimale,' suitable for preaching during the whole season of Lent, from Septuagesima to Passion Sunday inclusive. The introductory pages contain a 'Table of Rubrics' indicating the subjects provided for each day in this collection of addresses. This is followed by a very copious index, alphabetically arranged, of all the materials comprised in the sermons, together with a careful notification of the exact page and paragraph in which each topic is to be found. Then comes a most full and elaborate table, by means of which the possessor of this book can so combine the contents of the *Rosarium* with those of the subjoined work, entitled the *Mariale*, that, 'if he wishes, with only a few books, to preach throughout the entire year,' he can do so by means of the help afforded to him in this tabular arrangement of subjects and sermons. By a judicious plan with which the author here supplies him, such a reader would be able not only to preach for a whole year, but to provide himself with an ample store

<sup>1</sup> Interpreted in doggerel, 'That preacher is better, who copies Barletta.'

<sup>2</sup> Issued from the same press and at the expense of the same person as the *Gesta Romanorum*, the colophon of which informs us that it was 'Printed . . . at the expense of that provident and circumspect man John Rynman of Oringaw, at the workshop of Henry Gran, citizen of the imperial town of Hagenaw' (1508).

of materials in order to preach ('sermionari') 'for three or four years or more *in the same place*'—a very convenient arrangement, no doubt.

Bound up in the same volume is the *Mariale*, printed at Argentine in Normandy, November 10, 1502, by Martin Flach, junior, and inscribed to the notorious and scandalous Pope Alexander VI., Roderigo Borgia, who died August 18, 1503.

This work consists of a most elaborate series of sermons for the various festivals of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It comprises a 'register' of the entire series, followed by a full alphabetical index of the subjects treated in the several discourses; a prologue to the whole work; sermons on the Conception<sup>1</sup> of the Virgin; then comes the Office of the Festival (originally edited by Leonardo Nogarola, but revised and altered by Bernardino), dedicated to and approved by Pope Sixtus IV.; then sermons on the Nativity of the Virgin; on the name which was given to her, viz. Maria; on her life; her virtues; her gifts; her 'beatitudes'; her spiritual fruits; her graces; her holiness; and on 'the sacraments of the Church received by the Blessed Virgin.' A discourse on her Espousal concludes Part IV. Part V. contains sermons on the Visitation, and on her Bearing of the Saviour; another part supplies sermons on her Purification, while with Part IX. commences an entirely different series of discourses, viz. those on the *Titles* of the Virgin, many of which are so singular and so far-fetched that a brief enumeration of them may interest our readers. Maria is a Paradise, a Garden of Delights, a Cedar, a 'Libanus,' a Cypress. Bernardino thinks it desirable to explain that this word 'Libanus' is employed by grammarians in different senses, according to the gender assigned to it, the masculine form being the name of a mountain, the feminine of a tree; while the neuter (libanum) is used to denote frankincense. He goes on to observe, with some *naïveté*, that Holy Scripture sometimes transgresses 'the rules of Donatus' in order the more clearly to express the mind of the Holy Spirit, and is not subject to the rules of Priscian.<sup>2</sup> Again, Maria is a Palm-tree, a Rose, an Olive, a Plane-tree, Cinnamon, Balsam, Myrrh; a Vine, Spikenard, Galbanum, and a Lily. Next follow sermons on fifteen other similitudes of the Virgin, and on 'the Feast

<sup>1</sup> Since Bernardino de' Busti's days this has been defined *ex cathedra* as an article of faith by Pope Pius IX., December 8, 1854, and is now regularly celebrated on that day.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* fol. ccxlix. P.

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of Snow ;' she is described as a Ladder to Heaven, as the Sea, the Dew, the Moon, the Sun, an Army, the Earth, a Mirror, a Rainbow, a Hill, a Dove, an Elephant,<sup>1</sup> a Hen, a Sheep, Ivory, a Fountain, a Ship, a Cloud, Mount Sinai, a Throne, a Fleece, a Light, a Lamp, a Vessel of God, a Seat of God (Rev. iv., viii.), a City of God, a Castle.<sup>2</sup>

Lastly, we have a long sermon, filling upwards of twenty folios (*i.e.* twenty-four pages of double columns) on her Compassion, nine folios on her Joys, two sermons of twenty-eight folios on her Assumption ; concluding with two sermons of twenty-six folios on her Coronation ; thus completing a volume of 364 folios or 728 pages !

To account for the exceeding pains and elaboration with which the Blessed Virgin Mary is treated in this work, it is to be understood that when Vincenzo Bardello sounded the trumpet of attack on the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, Bernardino de' Busti took up the challenge and defended that dogma. We have the fruit of his efforts in the *Mariale*.

Now, the whole of this twofold collection—the *Rosarium* or *Quaresimale*, and this redundant glorification of every particular, real or imaginary, connected with the history and attributes of the Virgin in the *Mariale*, is composed of discourses written to be delivered in Latin, interspersed here and there with quotations in the Italian vernacular, spelt in the quaint orthography of the fifteenth century.

Anything more entirely unlike what we are accustomed not merely to hear but even to read in this part of Christendom can scarcely be conceived. The only approach to a parallel with it finds a place in what is recorded of the historian Varillas. He had frequently been importuned by the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* fol. cclxxv. F. A still more extraordinary phrase is applied to our Lord by the Spanish mystical poet, Pedro de Padilla, who calls Him

'El unicornio hermoso  
Que es Dios, á quien humanaste.'

Strange as this appellative may seem to us, it is probably derived from the words of Balaam, Numb. xxiv. 8, 'He hath as it were the strength of an unicorn,' which Cipriano de Valera interprets, 'tiene fuerzas como de Unicornio ;' interposing, however, 'Israel' as the nominative instead of 'Dios.' [In the Litany of the Immac. Concep. in the 'Little Office in Honour of the Immac. Concep. of the Blessed Virgin Mary,' we read 'Immaculate Trumpet of Holy Poverty' (p. 56).]

<sup>2</sup> 'Just now nothing will come into my mind but "les litanies de la Sainte Vierge. Rose céleste, Reine des Anges !" "Tour d'Ivoire, maison d'or," is not that the jargon?' (Shirley, chap. xxxv.). Even the Abbé Rolli considered these appellations 'affected ; almost ridiculous and unmeaning' (see *The Glories of Mary*, p. 579, *fin.*).

prior of a convent near Paris to examine a work composed by one of his monks, of which the prior, not being himself addicted to letters, wished to be governed by Varillas's opinion. The historian at length yielded to the entreaties of the prior, the consequence of which was that, by way of regaling the critic, there were laid on two tables for his inspection seven enormous volumes in folio! In imitation of, rather than in rivalry with, the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas, the work was entitled *Summa Deiparæ*; it was the fruit of thirty years' labour; and the author boasted that he had treated *three thousand* questions concerning the Virgin, of which he flattered himself not a single one had ever yet been imagined by any one but himself!

II. We proceed to furnish a few particulars connected with the literary character of the work before us. And first, as to the writer's manner of introducing quotations in the vernacular, we take the following example. He begins in Latin:

'It is not yet fifty years since, in a certain city of Lombardy, while a certain preacher was dilating to the people upon the Lamentation of the Virgin, some persons who were adverse to the representation of her compassion and piety attempted to prove the preacher guilty of heresy. But in the disputation which ensued they were put to confusion. Now if any person should be rash enough to rise up against *me* for proclaiming the piety of the Mother of God, I hope that the same vision will be realized which appeared to the devout poet, who tells us in a metrical sermon in the vulgar tongue:'

"Io vidi un corvo vlato [volato] a lo macello molto terribil. Il becho insanguinato longo e acuto a modo a coltello. Contra il columbo levar infuriato. Ma di che molto fui mara veliato [maravigliato] Da poi vidi el mansueto ucello. Da capo a pedi molto ben armato. Quello animale bruto nigro e fello Soto li soi pedi haver gitato Unde il precone de le mal novelle Da lui essendo tuto spilzato Hebe di gratia de salvar le pelle. E se partite tuto vergognato."

[Then the preacher resumes in Latin] 'But to return to our subject: Damascene on St. Luke says: "The pains which the Virgin escaped in childbirth, these she endured in the Passion of Christ."'

A few pages further on, in the same sermon, Bernardino introduces another quotation without specifying the name of the author, but simply citing his words as those of 'a certain devout versifier in the vulgar tongue who says, "Comebbe in elle brase [braccia] el fiol [figliuol] sancto con infinite lacrime si lo bagnava,"' &c.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere, after citing successively, in

<sup>1</sup> D'Israeli, *Cur. of Lit.* 1st ser. ii. 130.

<sup>2</sup> We give the quotation with the original punctuation, which is as singular as some of the orthography.

<sup>3</sup> *Mariale*, fol. ccxci. D.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* fol. ccc. B.

very short extracts, Pliny, Seneca, Isidore, and Boethius, he proceeds without any break, 'Et Franciscus Petrarca in suis triumphis ait :

"La morte he fine duna prigione scura. Ai animi gentili. Ai altri he noia. chan posto nel fango ogni lor cura."<sup>1</sup>

In the same folio he introduces a nameless writer, who was often accustomed to address our Lord, saying :

'Quando farai contento el core mio  
Tollendo me dal mundo tenebroso,' &c.

Again :

'De hac etiam jubilatione canit ecclesia. Assumpta est Maria in celum gaudent angeli laudantes benedicunt Dominum. Et in coronâ nostrâ dicitur. Assumpta e Maria nel alto celo Con tale honore e con festa sincera,' &c.<sup>2</sup>

In fol. xxxix. we find a certain versifier cited in a set of Latin elegiacs of twelve lines, another versifier in the vulgar tongue to the extent of seventeen, winding up with a Latin epigram in eight elegiac lines by Johannis de Biffis.

After a dialogue between the Virgin and her Son on the day of the Resurrection, Bernardino introduces our Lord as addressing His Mother in Italian verse :

'Unus autem seraphin habebat coronam fulgentissimam in manu, quâ volebat Dominus Jesu coronare matrem suam. Dixit ergo iterum Dominus noster matri suæ,

"O dona [donna] del paradiso  
Per cui li angeli hano riso," &c. (fol. cccx. L).

The extent of Bernardino's reading must have been very remarkable in area, even if it was not particularly profound in depth or exact in character. We find citations from Alexander de Ales [*sic*],<sup>3</sup> Ambrose, Anselm, Alanus, Aquinas, Augustine, Peter Aureolus, Basil, Bernard, Bernardino da Siena, Boethius, Hugo de Castro, Chrysostom, Cicero, Claudian, Cyprian, Damascene, Dante (quoted in Latin), Gregory Nazianzen, Hilary, Horace, Jerome, Paulus de Lucca, Isidore,

<sup>1</sup> In modern orthography,

'La morte è fin d' una prigion' oscura,  
A gli animi gentili ; a gli altri è noia  
C' hanno posto nel fango ogni lor curo.'  
Petrarca, *Del Trionfo della Morte*, cap. ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* fol. cccix. U.

<sup>3</sup> He mentions that a copy of Alexander de Ales, as he always writes the name, existed in his day in the choir of the cathedral church of Toulouse, and that it was *chained* there. 'Qui liber est Tholosæ catenatus in choro ecclesiæ cathedralis.'—*Mariale*, fol. xvi. P.

Lucan, Nicholas de Lyrâ, Origen, Ovid, Petrarca, Pliny, Prosper, Scotus, Sedylus, Seneca, Statius, Virgil, and a great many more of various ages. But with some of these writers he appears to have possessed only a superficial acquaintance. At least, he cannot have been very minutely familiar with the contents of their works. For though he cites correctly enough 'Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem Testa diu' (*Mariale*, fol. xxxvi. R), yet in the *Rosarium*, fol. v. P, he represents St. Paul, in his address to the Athenians at the Areopagus (Acts xvii. 28), as quoting Horace! 'Et contra Athenienses disputans *Oracii* poetæ testimonio utitur.' He had evidently confounded Horace, 'Oracius,' with Aratus.

With one specimen of the very convenient but fallacious style of reasoning which Bernardino employs for the purpose of establishing his doctrines we will conclude this portion of our remarks. Let all students of curiosities in the science of logic observe the following syllogism :

'Majus est sine dolore parere quàm sine peccato concipi :  
Sed beata Virgo sine dolore peperit :  
Ergo sine peccato concepta fuit.'

III. We proceed to submit a specimen of the stories and legends with which the pages of Bernardino de' Busti are filled, related as these fabrications are with the obvious intention of exalting the Blessed Virgin, and of supporting the doctrine of her all-prevailing influence over her Divine Son.

We begin with a narrative which professes to recount, in the fullest detail, certain conversations said to have taken place between our Lord and His Mother, but for which we need scarcely assure our readers there is not the smallest foundation, either in Holy Scripture or elsewhere than in the fervid imagination of the too facile inventor.

Now what is the style of interrogation which the Virgin is supposed to put to her Divine Son in their private and familiar intercourse? The Virgin, we are told,<sup>1</sup> was in the habit of questioning her Son *every day* concerning heavenly mysteries, while He was ready, with all tenderness, to give her instruction on those topics.

'Whence we may conceive and picture to ourselves that the Blessed Virgin, assured that her Son, even in His childhood, possessed as complete knowledge of all things as He now has in heaven, made Him be seated while she herself stood at His feet, and said

<sup>1</sup> *Mariale*, fol. cccxxiv. I.



"I beg of Thee, most beloved Son, to tell me something of the orders of angels, and how they stand in heaven, since Moses and the other prophets have told us nothing on this subject. Also about the souls of the saints, in what manner they are placed in the angelic choirs."

In reply to which our Lord is represented as giving a *résumé* of the nine celestial orders of angels, adding that, among those orders of blessed spirits, the souls of the saints are arranged 'according to their merits.'

In the first rank of Angels are placed those who have done penance for their sins. In the second rank, or that of Archangels—which is in a tenfold degree more beautiful and perfect—are placed those who, beside penitence, shall possess 'active devotion,' which is more than penitence, and who shall thus persevere in devout works. In the third order, or that of Principalities—which is ten times more perfect than the preceding—will be placed those who are merciful in corporal and spiritual works. In the fourth order, that of Powers—tenfold more perfect than the preceding—will be placed the patient who shall endure many adversities with equanimity, 'to whom I will say, "In your patience shall ye possess your souls"' (St. Luke xxi. 19). In the fifth order, that of Virtues, shall be placed the peacemakers who, as far as lieth in them, preserve peace with all men, and return evil for evil to no one, but seek to establish peace among others. In the sixth rank, or that of Dominations, shall be beatified the *Prelati*, both ecclesiastical and secular, who have entered into their dignity through the 'door,' and not through simony or ambition, and who have well governed those placed in subjection under them, punishing the evil and rewarding the good. In the seventh rank, or that of Thrones, shall be placed those who, completely abandoning the world, shall maintain voluntary poverty. In the eighth, the order of Cherubim, the wise teachers of souls who shall not only live well themselves, but shall bring others to eternal life by their wisdom and doctrine. In the ninth and last order, viz. the Seraphic which—in the same manner as all the preceding ranks are tenfold more perfect than those beneath them—is ten times more beautiful and perfect than the cherubic order—those shall stand who shall be perfect above all others in burning charity.

'After hearing these things the Blessed Virgin said to Him, "And I, my Son, in what rank shall I be placed?" To whom her gracious Son replied, "Thou, My dearest Mother, because thou art more perfect than all creatures, shalt be set in none of these ranks,

but thou shalt be exalted above all angelic spirits. For two most splendid thrones and seats have been prepared for us in heaven, one for Me, on which I shall sit as the King of Heaven, and another for thee at My Right Hand, on which thou shalt sit as the Queen of angels and of all the saints. And this was prefigured 1 Kings ii., where we read that, when the mother of Solomon went unto the king, Solomon himself rose up to do her honour, and caused a seat to be set for his mother next to his own.<sup>1</sup> And upon another day the most blessed Virgin interrogated her Son concerning the order of the general judgment and concerning the pains of purgatory and hell.<sup>2</sup>

In a recent *Life* of St. Dominic we are informed that 'a certain freedom and expansiveness were mingled with the strictness of its discipline.' If we are to judge from the above extracts, the order of St. Francis does not seem to have been at all behindhand in the exercise of the same kind of licence. Of 'freedom and expansiveness' there is a plentiful crop in the pages of Bernardino, as will be evinced in the following examples, in which there is not even the poor halfpennyworth of truth to qualify the intolerable quantity of fiction.

No wonder that Southey should have felt stirred to denounce what he justly calls the 'audacious superstructure of Romanist fable'<sup>3</sup> to be found in the popular legends and other falsifications which are circulated with a view to impress the readers and hearers of such tales with an idea of the Virgin's supreme influence, and to support her paramount claim to the devotion of her clients. We will now exemplify this part of our subject more fully.

1. A certain devout young female taught a little bird to say 'Ave Maria' so successfully that in its chatter it scarcely ever uttered any other exclamation. But on a certain day a bird of prey pounced upon the little creature and carried it off. No sooner, however, had it cried out 'Ave Maria' than the bird of prey instantly fell down dead, and the pet bird returned to the bosom of the young woman.<sup>4</sup>

2. When a disastrous plague invaded Milan, in the time of the Bianchi, the Milanese people made a vow to the Virgin that, if she would deliver them from that calamity, they would celebrate the Festival of her Immaculate Conception. So soon as open expression had been given to this vow they were delivered from the aforesaid plague.<sup>5</sup>

3. 'It is written in a certain legend of the Assumption that the Blessed Virgin besought her Son through the medium of an angel to

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings ii. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Vindicta Eccles. Angl.* 8 n.

<sup>3</sup> *Mariale*, fol. cccxlv. P. Quoted with approval in Liguori's *Glories of Mary*, p. 67, ed. 1868.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* fol. xliii. M.

<sup>5</sup> *Mariale*, fol. cccxiv. J.

grant her three special favours: first, that she might have all the Apostles present at her departure out of life; secondly, that she should not see the Devil; <sup>1</sup> and thirdly, that at her death she might rescue from their pains all who were in purgatory. *All which things she obtained.*<sup>2</sup>

4. 'The Angel Gabriel appeared to the Virgin (as the time of her dissolution drew near) in a form altogether beautiful, with a palm branch in his hand as a sign of the complete victory which he had gained over the world, the flesh, and the devil. He was all shining with light, and in the most beautiful human form. And I believe [he naively adds] that he was accompanied by an escort of many angels. Reverently saluting the glorious Virgin, he said to her, 'Ave Ma dona [*sic*] de grande cortesia. Ave maestra dogni sanctitate. Ave benigna vergene Maria. Ave fontana piena de caritate. Ave del mundo dignissima regina,' &c., concluding with the somewhat bold announcement, 'A questo dirte da Dio son mandato.'<sup>3</sup>

5. Amongst miracles recorded in another page is the following. A certain Nun was surprised to find that the Church was not celebrating the festival of the Virgin's Immaculate Conception. During her sleep a Divine voice came to her, saying, 'Why art thou disturbed and wondering why the Church of God does not celebrate the Feast of My Mother's Conception? Come with Me, and I will show thee the Truth.' And she, full of fear, said, 'Who art thou that speakest to me?' And the voice answered, 'Doubt not; for I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life.' Then she, being comforted, proceeded under the guidance of the voice, which led her to a most beautiful and very delightful place. Then the voice said to her, 'Know, my daughter, for a certainty, that after the evil spirits <sup>4</sup> fell from heaven, the angels who were confirmed in the grace of God did every year celebrate, in the court of heaven, the festival of My Mother's Conception, which had been observed in the Divine Mind from eternity. And so its observance was solemnized by the angels. And whosoever shall devoutly celebrate this festival shall obtain the remission of all his sins, and in the end shall enjoy eternal life.'<sup>5</sup>

6. 'In the third year of Boniface VIII. [A.D. 1297] a certain Nun was meditating on the Conception of the Virgin, and fell into an ecstasy. She beheld the Virgin, who said to her, 'Know, my daughter, that at my Immaculate Conception and Sanctification there were present three thousand cherubim, chanting and saying, "Maria is the Mother of God and the Tabernacle of the Trinity." And the Blessed Virgin added, "Be assured of what I tell thee, and proclaim that this is true upon oath."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This idea is borrowed from a spurious production entitled *Speculum Peccatoris*, falsely attributed to St. Augustine, and placed in the Appendix of supposititious works in the sixth volume of the Benedictine edition, p. 158 F. There is evidence to show that, so far from being of the age of Augustine, this farrago is not earlier than the tenth century. See the editors' 'Admonitio,' p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> *Mariale*, fol. cccxiv. T.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* fol. cccxiv. T.

<sup>4</sup> 'Dæmones.'

<sup>5</sup> *Mariale*, fol. xxxiii. B. v.f.

<sup>6</sup> *Mariale*, fol. xxxiii. C.

7. 'In the city of Aquileia, when the Reverend Father, the Friar Bernardino of Feltri of our order, was preaching, and exhorting the people that, out of reverence for her Immaculate Conception, they should supplicate the Blessed Virgin to deliver them out of all their troubles, a certain woman on returning to her home at the conclusion of the sermon, found her son with a sword in his hand. When his mother cried out in her terror lest he should do himself some harm, he began to take to flight with the sword still in his grasp. As he was running he chanced to place the weapon against his chest and fell upon it. Upon seeing this his mother immediately lifted up her heart to the most Blessed Virgin Mary, beseeching her, by the reverence due to her most pure Conception, to protect her son from so great a peril. Wonderful to relate: although the sword had penetrated through all the clothes of the said youth, and had even reached his bare flesh, it immediately bent itself back as if it had been soft wax, and in no way wounded the youth.'<sup>1</sup>

It is impossible after reading these stories<sup>2</sup> to resist a recurrence to a curious but significant paragraph which appears in J. B. Morris's preface to his translation of Muzzarelli's *Month of Mary*. He there commends 'that childlike reliance [on the Mother of God] which gaily dispenses with an uncongenial wariness!'—a somewhat roundabout but finical way of inviting us to take all these legends and miracles upon trust with nothing short of wholesale credulity. In much the same spirit, Alphonsus de Liguori, 'without consulting too much the suggestions of a prudence which is always pusillanimous' (as the Abbé Genet once said), is not afraid to bring to light as precious treasures these incredible devices of legendary artifice; and his co-religionists boldly reproduce them for the edification of the faithful in this enlightened nineteenth century!

After the above illustrations of the inventive faculty of Roman pulpit eloquence, our readers will scarcely be surprised to find Holy Scripture itself utilised on a peculiarly free and easy principle for the purpose of paying tribute to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, even at the price of

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* fol. xxv. N.

<sup>2</sup> Some of these tales are much more extravagant and fabulous than those in the compilation known as the *Gesta Romanorum*, of which a few have been found in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; but they appear to have reached their highest degree of popularity in the fourteenth and fifteenth. One collection of such stories, prepared for actual use in the pulpit, was composed by a Dominican Friar, named Robert de Holkot, and was entitled *Moralitates pulchræ in usum Prædicatorum*. It is a noteworthy coincidence that the *Gesta Romanorum* was printed March 20, 1508, at the expense of the same John Rynman, of Oringaw, and at the workshop of the same Henry Gran, of Hagenaw, to whom we are indebted for the *Rosarium* of Bernardino de' Busti.

perverting and corrupting it by unauthorised additions and paraphrases. *Ex. gr.:*

1. In his sixth sermon Bernardino quotes St. Luke i. 46 in this manner, 'My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour, Who hath preserved me from original sin.'<sup>1</sup>

2. The same perversion reappears in the office for the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, with the addition, at the head, of 'Alleluia,' thrice repeated.<sup>2</sup>

3. At the beginning of the first Vespers of the same office, Psalm cx. is thus corrupted: 'The Lord said unto my Lady, sit thou on the Right Hand of My Innocency. Alleluia. Ps. Dixit Dominus, together with the remaining verses concerning the holy Mary. Ye youths praise our Lady, who was glorious in her conception, above all people. Alleluia. Amen.'<sup>3</sup>

4. 'I rejoiced in those tidings which were told me, To-day has the Queen of heaven been conceived. Alleluia. Amen.'<sup>4</sup>

5. 'If the Lord had not guarded His Mother, the angel of darkness would have blackened her. Alleluia. Amen.'<sup>5</sup>

6. 'To which Conception that passage of the first Psalm may be applied, "She stood not in the way of sinners, and did not sit in the seat of the pestilence."<sup>6</sup> Now by the seat of the pestilence may be understood original sin, which has infected the human race as it were with a universal pestilence; with which corruption the Blessed Virgin was not contaminated.'<sup>7</sup>

7. 'There was silence in heaven, *i.e.* in the Church of God, Apoc. viii. Thus all the nine orders of angels venerate the innocence of the Immaculate Mother of God.'<sup>8</sup>

The simplest reference to the book of the Revelation of St. John will at once impress the reader with the conviction that, if this be not a far-fetched and baseless corruption of the Word of God, it would indeed be hard to say what is; and yet this is a part of popular Roman theology.

8. Once more: 'The Eternal King and Omnipotent Emperor, wishing to adorn the exalted kingdom of heaven, fashioned this most Blessed Virgin so as to make her Lady and Empress of this Kingdom and Empire; that the prophecy of David in Psalm xlv. might be verified, who saith of her, 'On Thy right did stand the queen in a vesture of gold, wrought about with divers colours.' For the Blessed Virgin did stand at the right hand of God, because she sat down exalted in all the highest graces beyond all the saints after her Son. And she is well said to have been decorated in a

<sup>1</sup> *Mariale*, fol. xxiii. Y.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. xlv.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* A shameful perversion of Psalm cxxvi. 1, Vulg., for which there is not the faintest shadow of an excuse.

<sup>6</sup> 'Et in cathedrâ pestilentiae non sedit,' Vulg. καὶ ἐπὶ καθέδρᾳ λοιμῶν οὐκ ἐκάθισεν, LXX.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* fol. xxxii. Z.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* fol. xxxiv. I.

golden vesture, because she exists in the heavenly country in a glorified body, from the splendour of which, next after her Son, the whole city of the blessed glows with light.<sup>1</sup>

Putting aside for a moment the gross abuse of such a Divine instrument for man's instruction as Holy Scripture, there is in reality no lack of quotations from all parts of the Bible, the words of which seem to flow freely and rapidly enough from the tongue and pen of our Italian preacher.

Elsewhere in Christendom we find little trace of such familiarity with the Word of God, perverted as the knowledge of Revelation was by some of the Roman orders. In the *Gesta Romanorum*, which supplied the speakers and preachers of the Middle Ages with materials both for fireside recreation and for popular discourses from the pulpit, citations from Scripture are exceedingly rare; and the few that appear occur chiefly in the concluding portion of that singular work. In Spain, even two centuries later than the epoch of Bernardino de' Busti, the neglect into which the Bible had fallen, the abysmal ignorance of its contents which prevailed in that kingdom, was illustrated by two circumstances: (1) the prohibition so strenuously laid down in the great Index Expurgatorius of Madrid, A.D. 1667; and (2) by the treatment which Calderon innocently relates in connexion with the conversion of the Prince of Fez. When the good and evil genii are contending for the possession of this hero, the instrumentality employed for the praiseworthy purpose of his deliverance from error is not any portion of God's revealed Word, but the life of Ignatius Loyola!<sup>2</sup>

IV. The teaching concerning the position and influence of the Blessed Virgin Mary set forth in the sermons contained in this double volume may be summarised in the following compendium:

A. Her exaltation, not only above all creatures, but above all angels.

1. 'For God was exalted in the Blessed Virgin when he sanctified her in the womb. He was still more exalted when He willed her to be born of her perfect virginity. But he was exalted most of all when He raised her on high above all the angels.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* fol. ccix. Q.

<sup>2</sup> The above remarks apply only to the popular acquaintance with the Bible, and not to the works of the mystical writers of Spain in the sixteenth century; for these are full of quotations from and references to all parts of Holy Scripture. (The references are most inaccurately supplied in what is otherwise a convenient edition of these authors, viz. that of Baudry, Paris, 1847.)

<sup>3</sup> *Mariale*, fol. cccxi. A.



2. 'Rejoice, therefore, and moreover be glad and exult with me because my glory excels the dignity and the joy of all the saints and of all the blessed spirits, and I possess of myself alone greater glory than all the angels and saints together.'

B. Her office as a powerful mediatrix between heaven and earth is thus introduced. In the third part of the first of six sermons, 'De Nominatione Mariæ,' Bernardino observes that, according to some devout doctors, the name Maria was composed of five letters because of five benefits which she conferred upon the world. Beginning with M, he says that this signifies that she is our Mediator, *i.e.* between us and God.

'For dissensions are assuaged and strife adjusted through some medium. And, therefore, men who are at variance with God ought to interpose the blessed Virgin as a Mediator [in their behalf] in order that she might be able to re-establish their peace with their Creator. For the Virgin herself was born into the world in order that through her Son she might reconcile the human race to God. For before the Virgin Mary was in the world so great a dissension existed between God and man because of the sin of our first parents that no one, however holy and righteous, dared to draw near to God to entreat the grant of glory. But all who departed out of this life descended to the Inferno; the good to Limbus, but the wicked to the eternal punishment of hell. But the Blessed Virgin by her mediation obtained mercy for us, together with grace and glory, according to that saying in Ps. xlvii.: 'We have received Thy mercy, O God, in the midst of Thy temple, *i.e.* of the Blessed Virgin, who in many ways is entitled a Medium or Mediatrix; whence Bernard in a certain sermon says, Mary is a Mediator between the Sun and the Moon, *i.e.* between Christ and the Church. First, then, she is the Mediatrix of our salvation. . . . Secondly, she is the Mediatrix of our justification and union, because she re-unites and conjoins to God us who were disunited and divided from Him. And thus the Blessed Virgin exercises the office of a link or bond, the nature of which is to unite and join together things that have been dissociated. . . . Thirdly, she is the Mediatrix of our justification. For the evil demons hinder our justification in various ways. But the Virgin Mary drives away all those hindrances, and even perfects our justification. . . . In the fourth place she is the Mediatrix of our reconciliation; in the fifth place, of our intercession. For she herself intercedes for us every day.'

C. Our next quotations illustrate the Virgin's powerful influence on behalf of her clients.

1. 'Rejoice because at my good pleasure God always rewards my servants in this world and in the world to come.'

2. In speaking of what the marginal note designates the Virgin's 'gratiosæ manus,' Bernardino says, 'O hands of the most blessed

<sup>1</sup> *Mariale*, fol. lxxix. H. sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* fol. cccxi. O.

and holy Virgin, wherewith I hope to be drawn to the place of eternal happiness. Wherefore, confiding in her kindness, I will say to her with the prophet, Ps. cxxxviii., "There shall Thy hand lead me, and Thy right hand shall hold me." And again I will say with confidence, "Cara speranza tu sey [sei] par quella per cui spero anchora esser electo. E andare al celo alume [al lume] de tua stella."<sup>1</sup>

3. 'But abhorring the idea of blackening our Lady, let us venerate to the utmost of our power her innocence; and let us endeavour to wash ourselves white from all defilement of sin in that snow, so that the expression in Ps. lxxvii. may be verified in us, "They shall be made whiter than snow in Selmon." For Selmon, according to Jerome, is interpreted the shelter of virtue, and signifies the Blessed Virgin herself, under the shadow of whose purity and holiness sinners are washed white. Therefore, O sinner, have recourse to the patronage of the Blessed Virgin; rest beneath the shelter of her piety; and say to her with the Psalmist, . . . "Thou shalt wash me and I shall be whiter<sup>2</sup> than snow."<sup>3</sup>

4. 'We ought to take as our best companion the devotion of the Blessed Virgin herself, for it will supply us with the brightness of its light as we walk in darkness, and will provide us with the safeguard of her defence against all beasts and enemies, and will even turn to flight these very foes of ours. For Bernard saith, As wax melteth away before the fire, so at the invocation of the Virgin the entire host of malignant spirits is dispersed. And, again, The heavens smile, the angels rejoice, the world exults, hell trembles, the devils take to flight, when the "Ave Maria" is said. Blessed, therefore, is he whose hope is in the glorious Virgin through his devotion to her, and who saith to her, "Place me near thee, and then let the hand of anyone fight against me," Job xvii. 3 [Vulg.].<sup>4</sup> "For even though I walk in the midst of the shadow of death I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me," Ps. xxii.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* fol. lxxiii. R.

<sup>2</sup> 'GIACULATORIA. Munda me ab omni iniquitate meâ, Sancta dei Genitrix.

D' ogni mondatemi  
Macchia più lieve;  
Fatemi candido  
Come la neve.'

Padre Muzzarelli, *Il Mese di Maria*, Vigesimoquarto giorno, p. 91, ed. Roma, 1845.

<sup>3</sup> *Mariale*, fol. cclx. R. The words of St. Jerome give no countenance whatever to the Roman misrepresentation of Ps. lxxvii. 15. He says: 'Selmon umbra interpretatur. Cum igitur rex celestis Christus in ecclesiâ suâ cœperit apostolos et principes constituere atque dividere, non habebunt plenam lucem, sed partem aliquam Scientiæ: quia nunc ex parte videmus et ex parte prophetamus.'—S. Hieron. Opp. tom. viii. fol. 45 F, ed. Basil. 1516.

<sup>4</sup> A passage addressed by Job to the Almighty, and not to the Virgin, as both the Vulgate and the Douay version testify: 'Libera me, Domine, et pone me juxta Te,' &c. 'Deliver me, O Lord, and set me beside Thee.'

<sup>5</sup> *Mariale*, fol. cclxxv. L.

5. The next extract is supplied with a key contained in the brief marginal note: 'Exemplum quomodo Maria suos defendit,' and relates a story to the following effect. There was a certain monk belonging to a congregation most devotedly attached to the service of the glorious Virgin. Once upon a time, at the instigation of the enemy, he drank to such excess in the cellar that he was thought to be perfectly senseless. When it became very late and he was going out of the cellar in this intoxicated condition towards the church, through the cloister, the devil appeared to him in the shape of a bull of wonderful size as if threatening to transfix him with its horns. And lo! he suddenly beheld a certain very beautiful maiden coming towards him, having her auburn hair flowing over her shoulders, and holding in her right hand a snow-white rod. *She rebuked the devil for presuming to act in this manner towards a servant of hers, and ordered him to depart forthwith, and not to dare to do that person any harm.* At which command the devil disappeared. Then, when the monk recommenced his journey and came near the church, the devil suddenly sprang upon him in the form of a very terrible-looking dog. And again the before-mentioned maiden presented herself and repulsed the demon. At length, upon his entering the church, the enemy appeared more terrible than before as a savage lion roaring against him as if he were about to devour him. But the maiden, who had rescued him on the first and second occasions, again presented herself and beat the devil severely with the rod which she held in her hand, saying, "Why didst thou not choose to obey me? Thou deservest to suffer this treatment now;" and immediately the devil vanished like smoke, and never appeared again. After this, however, that very pious maiden, taking the monk by the hand, brought him back to his bed. She uncovered the bed and placed him in it, laid his head down and made the sign of the cross on his forehead. And when he began to wonder, saying, "Who art thou, good maiden, who hast conferred so many benefits upon me?" she replied, "I am Mary, the Mother of God," and immediately disappeared. All which occurrences that monk afterwards related in due order to the others, and amended his life for the better. Hereby may be discerned how powerful this most blessed Virgin is, who defends us as we pass through the midst of lions and dragons and serpents of hell, lest we should be devoured by them, and be slain and choked and bitten, and lest we should be carried away to the eternal punishments of hell by that enemy of ours, the devil.<sup>1</sup>

6. On the other hand: 'A certain very eloquent friar at Toulouse preached a sermon against the purity of the Blessed Virgin Mary's immaculate conception. Whereupon, as a testimony to the truth of the doctrine which he had denied, immediately after the conclusion of the sermon, a wolf, coming up unexpectedly, killed him by suffocating him and tearing him into pieces. A certain other friar also, when impugning the innocence of our Lady's conception, was struck blind in the very act of preaching. By which miracle, he, being converted to a right mind, promised in a vow to the Blessed

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* fol. cclxxi. Q.

Virgin that if she would restore his sight he would preach the very opposite doctrine, which also came to pass.<sup>1</sup>

In vindicating the use of such frivolous and unwholesome tales, which strike us as not merely too familiar but as replete with palpable fictions, it might be pleaded that in endeavouring to arouse the devotional instincts of an imperfectly Christianized mob, this style of pulpit oratory was indispensable. It had a peculiar function to discharge at the period which we are illustrating; and it might be contended that the combination of doctrine, anecdote, and a crowd of Scripture texts, together with an abundant crop of not unamusing legends, produced effects which no mere didactic efforts, however skilful and conscientious, would ever have created. The freedom and even extreme licence of this popular treatment of the favourite divinity increased both the influence and the power of the Frati Minori; while it also gave to the people's daily life a fresh zest for the prevailing *cultus* of the Virgin. We shall discover in the sequel whether this kind of defence will suffice to justify the effrontery with which the inventive genius of Romanism has ventured to stretch its powers in the elucidation of that Mariolatry in which all popular devotion was then concentrated.

Perverted and false as the teaching already exemplified cannot fail to appear in our eyes, we now arrive at something very much worse.

D. We subjoin a few extracts, which, far from enlisting our sympathies, must elicit our severest condemnation by their gratuitously apocryphal devices for establishing the unlimited power alleged to be exercised by the Virgin over her Son.

1. In Pinart's *Suffering Life of our Lord*,<sup>2</sup> that writer, quoting St. Luke ii. 51, 'and was subject unto them,' says:

'O heavens, is it possible that He who obeys with so much reverence Mary and Joseph, should be that great God Who governs all nature as Lord? Yes, and faith commands me to believe it.'

But what Pinart, following the Evangelist, thus says of our Lord's obedience to Mary and Joseph during the childhood of His earthly life is unjustifiably misapplied by Bernardino, who transfers the same idea to our Lord's present existence in heaven. He affirms that the Virgin possesses the same continued authority over him now; e.g.:

'Rejoice, because the whole host of heaven obeys Me, venerates and honours me. Rejoice, because My Son is always obedient to Me, and always hearkens to My wishes and to all My prayers.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* fol. xlviij., 'Lectio quarta.'

<sup>2</sup> P. 62, English edition, 1863.

<sup>3</sup> *Mariale*, fol. cccxi. O.

2. There is a still higher post of exaltation to which Bernardino has raised the Blessed Virgin, even making her in one sense superior to God Himself. This is the 'reasoning' upon which he has ventured to build up the giddy structure of such presumptuous Mariolatry:

'Since the Blessed Virgin is the Mother of God and God is her Son, and every son is naturally inferior to his mother and is her subject, and the mother is preferred before and is superior to her son, it follows that the Blessed Virgin is herself superior to God, and that God Himself is her subject, by reason of the humanity which He assumed from her.'<sup>1</sup>

3. Once more. She is exalted over all the host of heaven, and is seated next to the Holy Trinity.<sup>2</sup>

'Rejoice because I am seated next to the Holy Trinity, and I am clothed in my glorified body. Rejoice because I am certain and secure, because these my joys will endure for ever, and will never be ended nor fail. And whosoever shall venerate me in this world by delighting in these spiritual joys shall obtain the favour of my presence on the departure of his soul from the body; and I will deliver that same soul from its malignant enemies, and I will present it in the sight of my Son that it may be put in possession of the same joys with me. And concerning this there is an example explaining the miracles of the Virgin, wherein we read that a person was wont to recite every day her seven joys, who, when he came to die and was invoking the Blessed Virgin with his whole affections, she herself appeared, accompanied by a number of virgins and a very great multitude of angels; and she said to the sick person, "Beloved, for a long time thou hast presented my joys to me [in thy prayers]; come, therefore, with full assurance, for thou shalt abide with us through infinite ages." At which words he was wonderfully delighted; and when he had given thanks, he departed happily to the Lord, to enjoy eternal delights with the Mother of God herself.'<sup>3</sup>

As we peruse these recurring scenes of idolatrous devotion—these worse than childish fabrications respecting friars, monks, and nuns, the profoundly silly and profane fables about the miracles of the Virgin, and, still more, the astounding fanaticism of her elevation to a throne in heaven and her superiority to God—they seem more like the whimsical creations of some disordered brain, or the crude visitations of some uneasy dreams. We are, as it were, only half conscious

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* fol. cclx. N.

<sup>2</sup> The only parallel to this that we ever remember to have met with in an account given by a Mr. Brooke of Mrs. Bridget Bendysh concerning her maternal grandfather, Oliver Cromwell, 'I have often heard her say that "next to the Twelve Apostles he was the first saint in heaven, and placed next to them"' (Bailey, *Annals of Nottinghamshire*, p. 831).

<sup>3</sup> *Mariale*, fol. cccxi. O.

during the time that there is passing silently before our disturbed vision, not some Divine revelation of unerring truth, not the bright and purifying reality of an uncorrupted heavenly faith, but the tawdry phantasmagoria of a spectral puppet-show, the trumpery paraphernalia of a burlesque performance of some ghostly marionettes. Not a word of the love of God the Father, not one single reference to the humiliation and the all-prevailing sacrifice of the Son, not a solitary allusion to the sanctifying grace of the Holy Ghost, no appeal to the forgiveness of the Eternal Father, the mediating intercession of the Son, or the comfort of the Holy Ghost, but only the Virgin, the Blessed Virgin, the Glorious Virgin, and nothing but the Virgin.

Such was popular Romanism in the fifteenth century; and, alas! such it remains in the nineteenth. This maimed skeleton of religion—a compound of the wildest creations of fable with the most miserable superstition—is still accepted with a ‘childish and exuberant credulity,’ even in this, which boastfully claims for itself the title of an advanced and enlightened age of knowledge and critical acumen!

E. A very serious consideration now demands our attention in reference to the subject of Morals. If it has sometimes been our inevitable fate to be compelled for controversial purposes to peruse certain treatises on Moral Theology by such Roman writers as Suarez, P. Dens, Alphonsus Liguori, and Piselli, we cannot feel surprised at finding Roman doctrines supported by principles and stories of an immoral tendency. In connexion with the maintenance of that dogma which pervades the *Mariale*, we find what amounts to the actual encouragement both of evil principles and of immoral practice. The very nature of the case necessarily requires us to limit our quotations on this head to the fewest possible examples, which will amply justify our censure:

1. ‘Therefore, O sinful man, O sinful woman, even if thou hast committed all the sins which can either be committed or imagined, and which all the men and women in the world have ever committed, and if thy wickednesses should exceed in multitude the number of the stars in heaven and of the sand of the sea, and should be more numerous than the leaves of the trees and the blades of grass, do not fall into despair, but have recourse to that Sun [to which the Blessed Virgin Mary is here compared], and thy iniquity shall be dissolved like a cloud which is put to flight by the rays of the sun.’<sup>1</sup>

2. ‘Therefore, O sinful man, good news; O sinful woman, the very best news. Do not distrust nor despair, even if thou hast

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* fol. cclix. H.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

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committed all enormous sins, but with confidence and security have recourse to this most glorious Lady. Thou wilt find her with her hands full of kindness, piety and mercy, generosity and bounty. For she is more anxious to do thee good and to bestow upon thee some favour than thou canst be desirous of accepting it.'<sup>1</sup>

3. Our next quotation is taken from the 'Office of the Immaculate Conception of the Glorious Virgin,' *De Sermone, lectio quarta*. But the history is such that the whole narrative is best left in the obscurity of the original.

'In pago Gallico canonicus erat quidam ordine sacerdos beatæ Virginis horas nocturnas non parvo mentis affectu solitus decantare. Hic autem in villa quadam cum alterius uxore fornicario miscebatur amplexu. Cum igitur sacrilega satiatus libidine semel in medio noctis silentio ad oppidum in quo morabatur redire festinaret, pelagus quoddam transmeare cupiens, solus navem ingressus dominicæ matris horas navigando canere cepit. Cumque invitatorium "Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum" diceret et jam usque ad medium fluminis pertransisset, ecce demonum turba illum cum navicula in pelagi profundum præcipitem dedit, ejusque sicut promeruerat animam rapuit ad tormenta. Tertio autem die ad locum in quo maligni spiritus variis illum cruciabant tormentis beata genitrix Maria innumeris sanctorum vallata fulgoribus accessit. Estque talibus iniquos demones conviciis allocuta, "Ut quid mihi famulantis animam *injuste* affligitis?" Et demones "Nos," inquit, "illam habere debemus quia nostris in operibus occupatam deprehendimus." "Si illius," inquit Virgo pia, "debet cujus opera peragebat, Mea profecto esse cognoscitur, quoniam matutinas meas dum vos eum peremistis decantabat. Unde magni rei estis criminis, quia erga me *inique* egistis."'<sup>2</sup>

4. The last passage which we propose to cite on this subject will also require its final clause to be left under the veil of its Latin original:

'But even evil Christians bless the glorious Virgin after their fashion. For even murderers, adulterers, the incestuous, blasphemers, traitors, and men who are defiled with the foulness of every vice, sometimes venerate her—fasting in her honour on the Saturday, or once a week through the whole year, on the recurrence of her Annunciation; also on her vigils fasting on bread and water, and giving alms out of love to her. *Immo etiam multe meretrices in die sabbati non peccarent propter reverentiam Virginis.*'<sup>3</sup>

A more immoral and truly corrupting specimen of the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* fol. lxxiii. S. Quoted in *The Glories of Mary*, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* fol. xlvi. verso.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* fol. ccix. O. After this the author adds, with great simplicity, 'And many persons seem to hold the Blessed Virgin in greater veneration than Christ her Son.'

worst form of religious sentimentality could scarcely be found within the compass of any other literature.

A system must indeed be rotten at the very core which could first *invent* such an idea as that which we have left in its original phraseology, and could then deliberately set it down as a fact for acceptance and belief; could preach it to Christian men and women, however imperfectly educated, and then write and print and publish it for the edification of the faithful, and for the reformation of a sinful world.

We thus obtain a curious insight into the state of that *moral* atmosphere in which the Church of Rome subsisted towards the close of the fifteenth century. It might, indeed, be alleged by some of her not very scrupulous apologists that the specimens of anecdotes and legends which we have cited from the pages of Bernardino are only examples of a mode of address, not, of course, adapted to the colder natures of our northern regions, but perfectly suited to the fervent imaginations, as well as to the imperfect education and the simpler habits, of so remote an epoch; that civilisation had made great strides since those comparatively unenlightened days, and that it would be impossible for any one travelling in Italy at the present hour to encounter anything so compromising as the above-cited instances of pulpit discourses. It might be added that no one could *now* introduce such fabrications into modern books of devotion, especially when intended for the use of English 'Catholics.' To both these lines of excuse the reply is, unhappily, only too easy. The *raison d'être* of the whole contrivance simply amounts to this, that baseless and frivolous as the great mass of these stories and legends obviously are, even to the most indifferent and uncritical reader, the *motif* which lies at the foundation of the fabrications, and the whole end and object of their propagation, are apparent enough. It is entirely designed for the special glorification of her who is neither more nor less than the popular divinity of Italy. She can only be fitly described as the tutelary deity of modern Rome.

Far from liberating herself and her children from these equally questionable and puerile inventions, that Church retains them in all their sad fertility, and that, too, with a tenacity which continues indifferent to exposure, and with a hardihood which repudiates all shame.

In the Church of San Ferdinando at Naples on Sunday afternoon, December 2, 1838, the preacher, who appeared to be a man of ability and popularity, chose for his subject 'The Divine Maternity of the Virgin.' He described it as being

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morally of a highly mysterious character, and appeared obliquely to assimilate it to the Divine Paternity. This wonderful creature, he said, triumphed over the general laws of human nature as an exception from the taint of original sin; she was formed by the selection, as it were (like that of the painter of Agrigentum in an old tale), from all quarters of all the choicest elements of excellence; she is *regina de' cieli* and *imperatrice del mondo*; her virtue and glory differ, in this essential respect, from those of the angels and archangels, that their gifts are restrained within the bounds of what is finite, *i cancelli del finito*, while hers *toccano ai cancelli del infinito*, so that there can properly be no relation or comparison between them. In her are exhibited the several distinctive virtues of apostles, doctors, martyrs, virgins; in her are represented also those which belong to the heavenly circles of cherubim and seraphim, of angels and archangels; nay, more, and most of all, she is invested with the extrinsic attributes of the Blessed Trinity, namely, infinite power, infinite wisdom, and infinite love. St. John in the spirit saw our Lord on His throne, calling up His spouse to her throne by His side; this was the Virgin; and He set upon her head a crown adorned with lions, bears, and leopards, beasts emblematically representing the sinners whom she had saved. Her part in the redemption of the world was analogous to that of Eve<sup>1</sup> in its destruction. Accordingly, he proceeded, let us go with confidence to her feet; and he was about to offer to her his concluding address, when the writer of the above record with his companions quitted the scene.<sup>2</sup>

In recalling the character of some of the fictions which we have detailed, and which could only too easily be multiplied to a lamentable extent, we may well echo the question of painful amazement which the subject elicited from a public writer more than half a century ago: 'In what state of intellect are the people for whom such things are written? In what state of conscience are the men who write [or preach], and the men who publish them?'

When the Council of Trent sat with some design of reforming old abuses and of seeking a 'new departure' in the

<sup>1</sup> Compare the title of the work, '*Historia Divina y fida de la Virgen Madre de Dios, Reyna, y Señora nuestra Maria Santissima restauridora de la culpa de Eva, y medianera de la gracia.*' Por Sor Maria de Jesus, Abadesa de el Convento de la I. C. de la Villa de Agreda (Prov. de Burgos). En Madrid por Bernardo de Villa-Diego. Año de 1670.

<sup>2</sup> Gladstone, *Church Principles considered in their Results*, p. 352. The reader may compare *The Glories of Mary*, and Southey, *Vind. Eccl. Angl.* pp. 441 sqq.

practical religious education of her children, it would have been quite as well—to put it mildly—if that august assembly had revised some of the sources of her popular theology; and if it had gone so far as to prohibit the issue and the propagation of those numberless lying legends which at all times, both before and since the sessions at Trent, have formed a very considerable portion of the staple of popular Roman religionism.

But no. The Council had other objects in view. It did not feel sufficient interest in *these* matters to take notice of such blots on her escutcheon. And the most recent of Roman synods, the so-called 'Vatican Council,' passed systematically over the abuse; so that it remains *in statu quo* to this day, and is likely to continue without either check or protest.

Hence there is a perfectly unrestricted traffic in the circulation of that miserable garbage on which thousands of hungry souls are permitted to feed, to their own spiritual detriment, and to the utter discredit of that authority which chooses to wink at the spread of this unwholesome diet, instead of once for all sweeping it away, and providing healthy mental nutriment for the members of the Roman obedience.

And herein be it said, even as a matter of policy, Rome has greatly erred. In the fourteenth century a new era of spiritual influence sprang up, whereby the rising flood of infidelity might be stemmed, in the wondrous beauty, the awful seriousness, and the sturdy moral power of Dante's immortal work. This, the 'first fruits of the new literature' which then came into being, was consecrated and offered up to the Divine glory.<sup>1</sup> That ideal which he held up before men's awakened and captivated minds was the verity of God's moral government of the world. Had that practical wisdom which in other directions has so often characterized the policy of Rome, and, while it elicited some strong expressions of men's condemnatory criticism, has not seldom extorted their admiration, had this only been exercised at that time to confirm Dante's great lesson, to emphasize his warnings, and to make all ranks and classes, both lay and clerical, take these lessons effectually to heart, the Church of Rome would at this day have wielded a far more powerful moral influence over the whole of Christendom.

But worldly policy was allowed to thrust its counsels into the place of a diviner wisdom. Dante was looked upon with suspicion for his too outspoken condemnation, not merely of fashionable vices and follies, but of the corrupt conduct of

<sup>1</sup> Dean Church, *Essay on Dante*, pp. 120, 121.

some of the recreant heads of his own Church. He was felt to be a too trenchant denouncer of simony, of hypocrisy, of lust, and a hundred other practical abuses and crimes of the age. And what was the result? Dante's name was placed in the 'Index Libror. Prohibit. et Expurgand.'<sup>1</sup> and in the centuries immediately following we have such specimens of popular religious and moral teaching as are set forth in the pages of our Bernardino de' Busti.

And up to the present time this suicidal policy of Rome has never altered. She has never learned the lesson of a higher and purer wisdom: and thus, for one of her children who now studies and appreciates the true esoteric teaching of Dante, thousands are allowed to feed their spirits on the *olla podrida* of such mere childish fables as disfigure *The Glories of Mary*, and a host of other weak but mischievous productions. These are republished again and again, not only without correction or expurgation, without castigation or censure, but under the express sanction and official 'imprimatur' of Cardinals Wiseman and Manning.

No; 'vestigia nulla retrorsum' is as permanently the motto of Roman practice as 'semper eadem' is her false claim to the *continuity* of Apostolic doctrine in her system.

A late utterance of the present occupant of the Papal see still maintains that Rome in making Alphonso de' Liguori a doctor, has approved his teaching that *Mary* is the channel through which God's mercies come to mankind; that no one cometh to Christ save through *Mary*; that besides our Lord we need an Intercessor, because we fear Him so much it was necessary we should have an Intercessor whom we fear less and have more confidence in! In a late Encyclical Leo XIII. says:

'With equal truth may it also be affirmed that by the will of God *Mary* is the *intermediary* through whom is distributed unto us this immense treasure of mercies gathered by God, for mercy and truth were created by Jesus Christ. Thus, as no man goeth to the Father but by the Son, so no man goeth to Christ except by His Mother. How great are the goodness and mercy revealed in this design of God! What a correspondence with the frailty of man! We believe in the infinite goodness of the Most High, and we rejoice in it. We believe also in His justice, and we fear it. We adore the beloved Saviour, lavish of His Blood and of His Life; we dread the inexorable Judge. Thus do those whose actions have disturbed conscience need an intercessor mighty in favour with God, merciful not to reject the cause of the desperate; merciful enough to lift up again towards hope in the Divine mercy the afflicted and the broken down. *Mary*

<sup>1</sup> It will be found in the great Spanish Index, Madrid, 1677, p. 324.

is this glorious intermediary. She is the mighty Mother of the Almighty ; but what is still sweeter, she is gentle, extreme in tenderness, of limitless lovingkindness.<sup>1</sup>

On this we make but one remark. No greater dishonour than this ignoring of the sympathetic Son of Man, and the transfer of gentleness and lovingkindness to the Virgin exclusively, could be offered to our great High Priest. He is not one who cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities ; He is not ashamed to call us brethren ; Who ever liveth to make intercession for us.<sup>2</sup>

In conclusion, we must not forget that the adverse testimony of the great mediæval poet is that of one of the strongest partisans of Rome as a Church. For though, as we have indicated above, Dante wrote against the existing vices and abuses which defiled the Roman Curia in his day, yet his faith in the Divine mission and spiritual power of the Popes never faltered. That principle was as strongly rooted in his heart as his abhorrence of their degeneracy and depravity ; it was as profoundly seated in his affections as his desire to see all its corruptions extirpated by the only power which they would be at all likely to respect, viz. the power of the temporal sword.

Surely beneath the hollow surface of modern Roman society there must be indolently stagnating *some* materials for eventually creating a terrible but wholesome reaction. Surely there are—there must be—some better spirits within the pale of the Roman Church who look with increasing shame and pain upon the ignominious licence now accorded to the introduction of one uncatholic novelty after another in doctrine, and one false legend after another in the popular manuals sanctioned for the use of the 'faithful.' In their sorrowful contemplation of these evidences of degeneracy in the character of their once exalted communion, they may well feel tempted to dread the fulfilment of Petrarca's prophetic threat,

. . . . 'un gran miracol fia  
Se Cristo teco al fine non s' adira.'<sup>3</sup>

Could we wonder if some of her more sensitive sons, touched with mingled feelings of shame and disgust at the perpetuation of so many impostures, should echo the words of the Abbot Ernestus in Longfellow's *Golden Legend*?—

<sup>1</sup> The Pope's 'Encyclical' of September 22, 1891.

<sup>2</sup> Heb. iv. 15 ; ii. 11 ; vii. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Le Rime del Petrarca*, Sonetto cvii.



'We need another Hildebrand to shake  
And purify us like a mighty wind.  
The Church is wicked ; and sometimes I wonder  
God does not lose His patience with it wholly  
And shatter it like glass.'

#### ART. XI.—SOME RECENT NOVELS.

1. *Marcella*. By Mrs. HUMPHRY WARD, Author of *Robert Elsmere*, *The History of David Grieve*, &c., 3 vols. (London, 1894.)
2. *Esther Waters*. A Novel. By GEORGE MOORE. Second Edition. (London, 1894.)
3. *The Heavenly Twins*. By SARAH GRAND, Author of *Ideala*, *Our Manifold Nature*, &c. Forty-first Thousand. (London, 1894.)
4. *Ideala: a Study from Life*. By SARAH GRAND. Sixth Edition. (London, 1894.)
5. *Our Manifold Nature*. By SARAH GRAND. (London, 1894.)
6. *A Yellow Aster*. By IOTA. Twelfth Edition, completing Fifteenth Thousand. (London, 1894.)
7. *A Superfluous Woman*. A Novel. (London, 1894.)

NO one who is anxious rightly to estimate the bent and bias of popular thought in this last decade of the nineteenth century can afford to overlook the enormous influence which novels exercise over the whole continent of Europe. To confine our attention to England alone, the mere mass of fiction in every form and shape—from the old-fashioned stately romance in the traditional three volumes down to the swarm of brief stories that enjoy the insect life of a day in the most fugitive examples of periodical literature—by sheer weight and breadth of diffusion, probably excels all other branches of literature put together. And the influence of novels touches every class from the premier to the potboy, from the *grande dame* to the *grisette*, and it is still increasing in power with incredible rapidity. The universal spread of reading, bringing with it a demand for a style of writing which shall gratify the craving for some wider knowledge of life, the attractiveness of literature cast into story form, so dear to most minds and requiring so little exercise of thought, the spirit of unrest and discontent—the product of a superficial education, which has done more to quicken the intellect and imagination

than to train the judgment, and which in its degree leavens all English social life—all these causes combine to make fiction at the present moment a power for good or evil of portentous importance. Most of all is that power wielded fatally or happily over the minds of those on whom the future of the nation so largely depends—viz. the mothers and wives of the next generation. Men are in great degree what their women make them, and in this way the prevailing tone of fiction will materially mould the democracy that will bear rule ere many years are over.

It is under this sense of the chief importance of contemporary fiction that we have selected some typical examples for consideration in the present article, which we propose to view in the light of their moral tendencies rather than in that of their literary ability. The old and simpler standard of criticism which would have judged them exclusively by their rank as works of art is quite insufficient for our purpose. The novel written with definite intention to uphold some theory, political, social, or religious, has almost entirely superseded the romance of bygone days; and the simplest theme becomes in skilful hands the vehicle rather to point a moral than to adorn a tale. To such a change in the employment and execution of novel writing the standard of judgment has to be proportionately modified. There is a criterion by which realistic as well as impressionist art may be justly tested; and it may be as well to lay down at the outset a few general principles upon whose observance by the author and application by the critic the value both of the book and the criticism of it must depend.

Without drawing up, then, any formal canons of art, it may suffice to say that we regard realism as legitimate in the realm of literature as in that of painting, and under the same conditions; namely, that both subject and details be selected with due regard to beauty, purity, and truth. Where there is no delicacy of selection there is no genuine art, and many contemporary writers are sinners in this respect. It is not so much, however, in the choice or the rejection of a painful subject that mischief is wrought, as in the strange lack of taste and tone which mars much popular writing in the present day. With the horror and indignation justly kindled at the mischief wrought through widespread love of betting and gambling, with every effort to expose the abomination of sacrificing young girls in marriage to wealthy and dissipated rouds, with all earnest desire to ameliorate the condition of the degraded classes, and to put woman in her

rightful place beside man, we are in fullest sympathy; and we frankly acknowledge that all the books before us may have been written with one or other of these laudable aims. Moreover, with the exception of the last, which is singularly unequal in thought and composition, each of the writers has much literary ability and that command of technique which is essential to make a story readable. Yet, if judged by the purpose we presume the authors to have had in view, they are (with one exception) worse than failures. If a 'novel with a purpose' is to be convincing, it must be so through a process of careful and cumulative observation, and in these the field of study is often singularly narrow and confined. As hard cases make bad law, so exceptional evils suggest dangerous remedies. If realism is to rise to the rank of true art, its truth must be truth in essentials, and not the description of elaborate and unlovely realities employed to further theories which are profoundly unreal. If the new scientific spirit has penetrated the realms of literature and art, and compels writers to attempt a perfectly unprejudiced and grim reproduction of life, which scouts the higher ideals inspired by religion, and dwells exclusively on the material side of existence, it not unfrequently becomes utterly unscientific in its neglect of phenomena which lie beyond the sphere of science, and through the ages have influenced mankind. And the result, as in some of the works before us, is a onesided and distorted view, which presents us with a handful of tiresome—sometimes of nasty—little facts, at the cost of purity and delicacy and beauty.

It is time, however, to turn from the general to the particular, and to apply the principles we have suggested to the books we shall pass under review.

We place Mrs. Humphry Ward's book upon an entirely different plane from the other volumes named at the head of our paper. As our readers know, Mrs. Ward possesses literary qualities of no common order, and some of these are conspicuous in her latest work. Marcella herself is a fine character, well developed as the story grows, through the painful experience of life's tangled complexity, and the picture of her high-bred and high-principled lover, Aldous Raeburn—the future Lord Maxwell—although less minutely elaborated, is lofty and attractive. The other actors of the drama are equally well-sketched in. Hallin, the enthusiastic socialist, in piquant contrast with Wharton, the adroit partisan, who simply handles political professions as tools for his own personal advantage, and the courtly and benevolent old peer and his

somewhat crabbed spinster sister, the sprightly Betty and her boyish lover, are all capitably drawn. If a shade of weariness comes over us at times it may be because the canvas is somewhat too crowded, and because a certain air of unreality pervades much of the discussion of socialistic theories, with which the book is replete. As we close Mrs. Ward's novel a sense of incompleteness comes over us, and we are perplexed to determine in what category we should place it. If it is to be reckoned as a mere tale, the socialistic portion of it is too long; if as a contribution to the solution of deep and difficult problems, it is too scrappy and discursive. Yet perhaps we hardly do Mrs. Ward justice in such a judgment. Her tone throughout is scrupulously and intellectually fair. If she sympathizes—as who must not?—with the aspirations even of those extremists whose sense of the terrible inequalities of modern life leads them to regard property almost as a crime, she exposes the impracticability of their theories, and the resultant of her teaching is that for the present there is more to be hoped from individual action than from legislative remedies.

It is a special charm of Mrs. Humphry Ward's heroine that she maintains throughout her varied and trying experiences a maidenliness of spirit entirely pure and unsullied. Her early years have been passed in straitened conditions, and the joy of her father's accession to the old family estate is marred by the consciousness that he is under some mysterious social cloud, which has spoiled his wife's entire married life, and by the fact that the family income is sadly cramped. Yet the offers of Aldous Raeburn's hand, with all its splendid opportunities for a girl of lofty ambitions, and the wealth of his manly love, of which she is overwhelmingly conscious, but which she cannot return, all this she deliberately sacrifices rather than be identified with a system which she holds to be unjustifiable, or be wedded to one to whom she cannot give all her heart. Hasty, passionate, beautiful as she is, she knows the full value of the position she renounces, and deliberately forgoes it. Bereft, as she has been from childhood, of the solace of a mother's sympathy, she betakes herself to professional nursing amongst the London poor, and in ministering to the wants of others assuages the griefs by which her own heart is torn. How the fineness of her inner nature detects the hollowness alike of Wharton's pretensions and of the passion which he avows and which she had been strongly disposed to return: how the mournful disappointment of high and cherished hopes discipline her character and correct her earlier hasty judgment, and how she learns—when they are

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hopelessly severed—to return the love she so sadly and so nobly forfeited, is powerfully described by Mrs. Ward's able pen. Amidst the mistakes inevitable to one in her position and with her imperfect training, not one unworthy thought stains the soul of Marcella Boyce, and when all misunderstanding is cleared away the reader feels that she is worthy of the prize she finally obtains. With all our heart we thank Mrs. Ward for presenting us with not a faultless, but a spotless, English girl in Marcella, and with a chivalrous modest English gentleman in her lover.

Yet we should be untrue to our deepest convictions if we passed over the one mournful blot which disfigures this story and which arises from the writer's rejection of Catholic truth. 'How long,' Marcella wonders, 'will the poor endure this religion—this make-believe—which preaches patience, *patience!* when it ought to be urging war?' (ii. 225). Yet probably the writer's own maturer conclusions are put into the mouth of Hallin—he is speaking to Marcella from his dying bed:—

'She strongly wished to go; but he would not yet allow it. His face was full of a mystical joy—a living faith which must somehow communicate itself in one last sacramental effort. "How strange that you and I and he [Aldous Raeburn] should have been so mixed together in this queer life. Now I seem to regret nothing. I *hope* everything. One more little testimony let me bear! the last. We disappear, one by one, into the dark, but each may throw his comrades a token before he goes. You have been in much trouble of mind and spirit. I have seen it. Take my poor witness. There is one clue, one only—*goodness, the surrendered will.* Everything is there, all faith, all religion, all hope for rich or poor. Whether we feel our way through consciously to the Will that asks our will, matters little. Aldous and I have differed much on this, in words, never at heart. I could use words, symbols he cannot—and they have given me peace. But half my best life I owe to him."

'At this he made a long pause—but still through that weak grasp refusing to let her go till all was said. Day was almost gone; the stars had come out over the purple dusk of the park.

"That Will we reach through duty and pain," he whispered at last, so faintly she could hardly hear him, "is the root, the source. It leads us in living, it carries us in death. But our weakness and vagueness want help, want the human life and voice to lean on—to drink from. We Christians are orphans, without Christ! There again, what does it matter what we think *about* Him, if only we think *of* Him? In one such life are all mysteries and all knowledge" (iii. 288, 289).

All this is full of beauty and pathos, but its pathetic truth and beauty are but a fragment of Catholic truth and hope. In place of the vague impersonal 'will' we have a heavenly

Father revealed to us in our Blessed Lord—His Father and ours. In place of this queer life of groping uncertainty we know that all is ordered, not blindly, but after the counsel of that Father's will. In our weakness and vagueness we are not left orphans, but are sustained by His abiding presence, and nourished on His Sacramental grace.

Mr. George Moore's story suggests some questions of which the solution is of much practical importance besides and beyond the incidental controversy about the reception of *Esther Waters* into Messrs. Smith's libraries. The book is a piece of realism pure and simple, designed to unfold the misery and sin involved in betting and gambling; more especially in its fatal influence over the class of domestic servants amongst whom this pernicious vice is terribly prevalent. Dark scenes of sin and shame; the drunkenness and immorality so largely bound up in the bundle of evils with which gambling is inextricably blended; the fatal fascination, the demoralizing alternations of affluence and beggary, the temptations to dishonesty to be redeemed by some lucky *coup*, the restlessness begotten of indulgence in hazards prompted by greed and based on the varied delusive suaveness of dreams and omens and so-called secret information, with all their attendant exultation and despair, are powerfully and simply portrayed in Mr. Moore's pages. And mingled with these is the pathetic story of Esther Waters, the poor lonely kitchenmaid, who has to bear, as she sadly realizes, through a lifetime, the shame and sorrow of one misspent hour.

'The truth shone upon her like a star—she had realized in a moment part of the awful drama that awaited her, and from which nothing could free her, and which she would have to live through hour by hour. And so immeasurably dreadful did it seem, that for a slight moment she thought her brain must have given way. But no, no, it was all too true. She would have to leave Woodview. Oh! the shame of confession! Mrs. Barfield, who had been so good to her, and who thought so highly of her! Her father would not have her at home; she would be homeless in London. . . . No hope of obtaining a situation; . . . they would send her away without a character . . . homeless in London, and every month her position growing more desperate' (p. 81).

Yet despite her fall Esther is a Christian-hearted girl, and with earnest prayer for strength to walk without flinching under any cross that God thought fit to lay upon her, she braces herself to toil for the child whom she is determined never to neglect, and to whom her life will henceforth



be given. This aspect of his story Mr. Moore presents with a truthfulness that others would do well to imitate. There is no attempt to palliate the sin or to disguise the suffering that it involves. Vice is never decked out in an attractive guise. Even the gala days of these toilers at gambling are bitter, and the sterling qualities of Esther and her husband shine out in their proper light through the mists of misery which enwrap and well might suffocate them. One question, however, is forced, again and again as we read, upon us. Why not spare us some of the hateful touches with which the author intensifies and, as we think, spoils his narrative?

It appears to be one of the peculiar curses of modern realism that it has lost all sense of artistic finish, and is unable to reject unsavoury and repulsive items which are completely unsuitable for presentation. The horror and misery which commonly result from indulgence in gambling would form of themselves a sufficiently moving picture, without the intrusion of such disgusting details of harlotry and drunkenness as Mr. George Moore introduces to the reader. It is many years since we read any of the realistic stories of Defoe, with whom Mr. Moore has been compared; but we make some allowance in Defoe's case for the downrightness of a coarse age, and we are justly offended when in more polished days the like coarseness is repeated. In skilful hands the real facts of the case are eloquent and pathetic enough. They could be used by those who have the genius, the heart, and the taste to handle them rightly, to as good purpose as any which the baldest and most unblushing realism could compass, and we are indignant at being required to wade through the mass of nasty particularism which meets us in the pages of *Esther Waters*. We are very anxious that our position as regards this individual book should not be misunderstood. We entirely acquit its author of any but the best intention. We believe that his purpose was to cast a lurid light—such as he honestly thought alone would suffice to direct public attention upon what is fast becoming a national crime and disaster. But why should we be compelled, in order to realize the evils of gambling, to listen to the foul and profane language of jockeys, to wade through elaborate and beastly minutiae of drunkenness, or to hear the rowdy singing of a woman who seeks refuge from the misery of theft in intoxication? Not one element of moving force would have been wanting from Mr. Moore's presentation of his subject if every item which could justly be complained of had been erased from the pages of his story.

It is this conviction which most strongly weighs with us in our judgment upon the controversy which has raged around this novel, and which should, we think, be decided upon the principles laid down in our opening remarks. In the flood of fiction which rolls in upon the great circulating libraries, and whose stream has (we presume) to pass through the filter of an experienced reader, we hold that the managers are bound to exclude works which violate the simplest canons of critical judgment. The question for the decision of any library which exercises power of selection is not the intention of the author, but the manner in which he has fulfilled his task, and we are not astonished that Messrs. W. H. Smith and Son, in the exercise of a responsibility which is of no light order, should have declined to place *Esther Waters* upon their list of books for general circulation. It has been urged in quarters where we should have expected a different line of reasoning, that the proprietors of great circulating libraries should not place books of this stamp in an Index Prohibitorius, and that it should be left to parents to protect their daughters from the intrusion of such works into the drawing-room and the boudoir. But it is not the daughters only for whom such forethought is requisite. Is the old reverence for boyish purity and manliness declining? Over the quaint building where the present writer was educated there was incised the motto so strangely forgotten, it would seem, in modern days :

‘Nil dictu foedum visuque hæc limina tangat  
Intra quæ puer est.’

Our warmest thanks are due to those who, in a day when the barriers, long since raised to shelter and hedge in the purity of our boys and girls are being constantly removed or undermined, have the courage to withstand the danger and to meet the insidious evils which realism has wrought in France, and whose poison may, if unchecked, spread amongst ourselves.

For every blot of which we complain might be removed from the pages of *Esther Waters* without diminishing by one iota the truthful power and effect of the story. The book is almost a crucial example of violation of one of the principles we laid down in our exordium. The realistic details against which we protest are unlovely little nastinesses altogether unessential to the writer's true purpose. The picture is, as it ought to be, a very dark one, illumined only by the heroic perseverance of the hapless couple, entangled in the meshes of gambling, to free themselves from the net that

encircles them, and to educate their boy for better things—dark enough without the dirty dabs with which it is in part bespattered: the coarse talk of a London pothouse, the reek and filth of the slums. And the intrusion of these disfigurements is the more unpardonable, both because Mr. Moore is capable of better things and is animated by a lofty purpose, and because his example will give some countenance to a much lower school of writers. In the tendency of modern fiction to follow French realistic writers, and to penetrate into mysteries that should remain shrouded, we recognize the greatest of the perils to which English literature is just now exposed; and it is only the utterance of public opinion, clear and strong in condemnation of such a tendency, which can effectually suppress it. There is a rightful outspokenness which is essentially pure-minded while it calls a spade a spade, but which, through lack of taste, may foster and encourage a tone of thought entirely at variance with its own.

It is an ugly symptom when any wide branch of popular literature inclines to that which is abnormal, unhealthy, and bizarre. Art devoted rather to deformity than to beauty, uninspired by an ideal of pure and divine perfection, animated by the sceptical or mocking spirit which calls everything in question, and scorns to accept even principles that rest upon universal and necessary convictions; which hints at the lawfulness of adultery, of course under exceptional circumstances; which boldly advocates the absolute equality of woman, not as the complement but as the rival of man; which regards theology as effete, and substitutes physiology in its place as the guide of conduct—such art, whatever be the subject-matter on which it is exerted, is assuredly a sign of decadence wherever it largely prevails. That it is making a stealthy advance into English homes is, we fear, too unquestionable. Not, of course, as yet in its more repulsive forms, but, veiled in comeliness of speech rather than of thought, it moves on unsuspected under the shelter of contemporary and excessive liberality or indifference, which permits unrestrained expression of opinion on every conceivable topic. How terrible a fascination even the most repulsive realism may exert is so powerfully set forth in *A Yellow Aster*, that we quote at some length this impartial witness on our side. The speaker is a young artist of considerable promise, but of a weak, facile nature.

“Look at the light from that gin-palace on the red head of that child! It's funny what glorious effects one gets from the filthiest combinations! There is no light more bewildering and lovely than

the phosphoric, blue flicker from a graveyard. That effect now, those reeking gin-lights on that dirty head and the corpse-lights are like a lot of writers' work, no one can pass it by, it has a power to grasp and hold you that cleaner things don't have, and such power means genius, don't you think? Power strong enough, I mean, to stoop a fellow's mind and nose low enough to batten on corruption. If the corruption wasn't made worth examining one would only pass on with a kick at the seething mass. Instead of that a fellow looks and spits, and looks and spits again, but keeps looking, and then he gets enervated and unmanned before he knows what he is about. He sees the pitiless truth of things of course, but he loses everything else; the result is very limiting when one thinks of it. Battering on certain books," went on Brydon after a pause, "was the beginning of it, I think; then rottenness smells sweet after a time, and a fellow gets curious, and wants to exploit on his own account. I did all sorts of things first. I tried trees, shade, sun, moonlight; I walked blisters on my feet; I worked in the sweat of my brow; but nothing would still the brutal throbbing, and I went mad one day in that maddening city. Art wasn't worth a straw to save me. I made a beast of myself, the cheap sort of beast that I had funds for, and here is the result."

"Well, you're a sorry object, it must be confessed. . . ."

"But that's not the worst, either. Do you know I have altogether lost the way to work; I can do nothing. Now some fellows can go down in the gutter one day, and mount up amongst the gods the next without turning a hair. It beats me."<sup>1</sup>

The volume from which this quotation is taken is one of the strangest we have ever read, and it has been welcomed with a chorus of praise from leading literary organs as a novel of superb quality, conspicuously uniting intuition, candour, and respect for the human and Divine in such degree as to thaw the iciest criticism, and resolve it into warm admiration and unqualified praise. That the *Yellow Aster* is a book of exceptional power we readily allow. The characters are drawn with masterly vigour, and each one stands out in high relief, with all the distinctness of a veritable creation. A genuine sense of humour, a command of vivid and rapid dialogue, a keen insight into the heart of conventionalities, and that sustained force and swing which carry the reader on unweariedly to the end, all contribute to make the *Yellow Aster* a book of no ordinary stamp. If, then, force were in itself a quality that could extort unqualified praise, *A Yellow Aster* would doubtless command it. But the book is so bizarre that we must use all deliberation before we pronounce our verdict as we try it by the standard of moral tendency.

<sup>1</sup> *A Yellow Aster*, pp. 214, 215.

Whatever merit accrues to a story from entire originality assuredly belongs to the *Yellow Aster*. The eccentric phenomenon thus labelled is one Gwen Waring, the twin-daughter of parents wholly absorbed in scientific studies, and incredibly incapable in all the practical details of everyday life. Their natural affections have become atrophied through habitual disuse, and a humorous picture is drawn of the perplexity which besets them as each fresh stage in their children's growth is reached, and all the duties of education and parental training are devolved upon others, in order that the father and mother may work out their theories undisturbed. Among other fancies they have determined that their children should be brought up in complete ignorance of Christian teaching. 'The facts of the Old Testament are to be imparted with other ancient history, and they are to be well instructed in the natural sciences. By these means they will learn to know God in His works.' When the children are launched into their teens, and have reached years of discretion, the Bible and other evidences of Christianity were to be formally presented for their reception or rejection. The girl, thus brought up without the sweetness of a mother's loving guidance, or the early influences of religious training—in the chilling atmosphere of a loveless childhood, cheered only by the warm affection of Mrs. Fellowes, the bright American wife of the rector—grows into a woman utterly soulless, but of surpassing beauty, a sort of modern Lavinia. And it is with her life, and that of Sir Humphry Strange, her eventual husband, that the *Yellow Aster* has to do.

The girl so unhappily trained grows up a strong, wayward woman. Her yearning for love, crushed from infancy, turns to bitterness, and on her entrance into society she determines, 'I will attain glory,' like Paracelsus, but not through 'that mawkish muscle' called the heart; and her friend Mrs. Fellowes, who has most affectionately told her the head and front of a woman's life is love—God's and mother's and man's—foresees that only 'through much tribulation' will her destiny be worked out. Gwen's outer career is one unbroken triumph. Her splendid beauty, her magnificent physique, her sparkling intelligence bring all the world to her feet. But she rejects all advances, and Mr. Fellowes describes her, 'between brains and beauty, as no better than a charnel-house for crushed hearts.' At length, in Humphry Strange, a traveller of the Sir Richard Burton type, she meets with one whose strength of character dominates her, despite herself, while he loves her with all the passionate devotion of a

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singularly generous and self-sacrificing nature. The scene of his declaration and of her acceptance of him places them in striking contrast. We have only room for an extract to illustrate the temper in which Gwen approaches the crisis of her life.

"Love is a mere name to me," she said, "it seems such a collapsible, bubbly thing, and put to such feeble uses. You want me to be your wife, then, and you offer me a whole heart full of love, whatever that may mean. I must be honest too, and tell you that I shouldn't know how to dispose of a whole heart full of love. I know nothing at all practically about the matter, and theoretically it has never interested me. My situation is hard to explain," she exclaimed, with a petulant sweeping movement of her hand. "In the face of all this I want to accept your offer. I don't know why; but I really believe it is not I, Gwen Waring, who wants this; it is something outside me that wants it for me. I never felt so impersonal in all my life."

"He winced. Her honesty, to say the least of it, was a little bald.

"Perhaps I am more concerned in it than I think," she went on with a queer, intense serenity, dissecting herself audibly. I like new sensations. I am curious, most things are so flat and boring. . . ."

"I am ready to take you with open eyes, Gwen. You are very honest, dear; you will lose some of that when you have suffered a little," he added, with a ring of sadness in his voice as he looked tenderly down on her.

"She raised her head quickly: "Suffer! Why should I suffer? . . ."

"My darling, you have no idea how I shall enjoy giving you lessons in love."

"Will you?" she said grimly. "I doubt it. I tell you I have no taste for the cult. Well, it is at least fortunate that one can be honest, and that it isn't necessary for me to befool you for the sake of your income. This marriage is the very perfection of an alliance from all such points of view, and yet, do you know, Sir Humphry, I wish quite intensely we were both of us in another position, in a quite low, unknown one, then we need not marry. Engagements are nothing. I know as much of you now as any engagement can teach me. We might then try a preliminary experiment as to how life goes together. If it did not do, we might each go our own way and bury the past. I never wished for such a thing before. It follows, I suppose," she added, with a mirthless little laugh, "that I care this much for you or for my experiment. Have you grasped the whole situation?" she demanded, turning her troubled eyes full on him' (pp. 128-131).

This strange betrothal results in a marriage which finds the bride no whit softened in heart or spirit. "Would anyone think it to look at me? I look so very sound and complete, and yet I am rotten at the core—a sort of Dead



Sea apple. What a hackneyed order of fruit to belong to! (p. 135). And all her husband's patient tenderness fails to awaken a responsive echo; it rather irritates than pleases her. One softening experience after another—her mother's piteous yearnings as her strength ebbs away for baby touches and baby kisses; her husband's vain pleading as they are consciously on the brink of a terrific accident for one token of love; her own long illness which results from it—all fail to touch her. At length they agree to part: he to seek for a lost missionary in the heart of Africa; she to nurse her mother, now rapidly failing. At last the birth of a son—when Strange is absent, and, through a chapter of accidents, long unheard of—melts the ice around her heart, and the streams of love for child and husband flow copiously from it.

Of course her exceptional antecedents will justify Gwen Waring's want of heart; but in the evolution of her marriage there are things which jar upon the reader's mind. Why should Humphry Strange reveal to the woman he idolises all the nauseous details of his bachelor days? She admits with deep feeling that in her complete emptiness of love she is sexless. Will it elicit any latent maidenliness to have his sad confession 'as from man to man'—it is Strange's own expression—from which her loveliness and beauty should have sheltered her? She is too hard and cold already; must the faintest spark of virgin tenderness be crushed beneath the iron heel of such a narrative? Nor is the plea on which Strange justifies his singular confidences a valid one. If men yield to temptation and sully their early years they ought to suffer all the disadvantages of the impalpable barrier thus erected, and not pour forth without reserve things of which it is a shame even to speak. And in the development of Gwen's own abnormal experience there is hazardously minute insistence upon sensuous emotions or the lack of them. In our mingled nature the love which separates the fleshy from the spiritual is perilously delicate, and *A Yellow Aster* at times trembles on its verge, and, we think, occasionally breaks through it.

Yet, taken in its completeness, apart from some ill-judged details, the moral of the story is a noble one. It powerfully enforces the priceless worth of home ties, the utter emptiness of life without love, and the sanctity of motherhood. Through the introduction of the country rector and his wife we are allowed insight into a home exceptionally wholesome and singularly devoid of cant, where there reigns such transparent honesty of purpose as to command the willing respect even of

those who do not share the faith of its inmates. The strange misapprehension of life's true purpose by Gwen's parents—a pair of well-meaning learned fools, 'with their eyes in the ends of the earth'—finds its fitting sequel in the sense of incompleteness and the yearning, so pathetic and so full of wistful wonderment, which troubles their declining years; and the power of even goodness which is only a dream, over the heart which has conceived it, is finely illustrated in the chivalrous honour in which Brydon, the weak boy-artist, holds the wife of his friend, whose beauty he has transfigured with a matronly grace and purity to which she possesses no rightful claim, but which in his eyes clothe her with a sanctity from which, in conscious shame, he stands aloof. There is a true ring in the harmony as we follow its alternations of joy and sorrow, of folly and repentance, in *A Yellow Aster*; and life is not shorn of its dignity through vapid declamation against the rightness of the conditions on which its happiness depends. Through much tribulation and through motherhood Gwen learns the secret of loving, and when, after a long and painful absence, her husband returns home, the curtain falls on a scene of pure joyfulness of which we give the concluding paragraph:

'And for one moment the two peered at each other through the fog of a bitter past. Then she sat up slowly and looked at his face marvelling above her, and at his hand, caught in her baby's, and broke into half incoherent, wild explainings. But suddenly the consciousness that words could in no sort of way touch her case silenced her; she just sat dumbly on the floor, knowing that she had done evil in ignorance, but that she had come up through great tribulation into unutterable joy, full of knowledge, and with a soul as white as Naaman's skin. And so—as best became her sex—she simply held up her face to be kissed, while the baby clutched hold of one of her fingers and one of his father's, and in words all his own, and untranslatable, but mightier than those of gods or churches, decreed that henceforth and for ever these two should be one flesh, which, after all, is the special mission of his kind' (pp. 306, 307).

In *Ideala* and *The Heavenly Twins* we pass to fiction of a very different order. The former is in no true sense a work of art, but rather a series of hasty sketches for a picture. It lacks the unity of purpose, the vividness of life, and the completeness which mark a well-thought-out story. The heroine is a mere shadow whose name is attached to a bundle of opinions as fluid as those of the American candidate: 'These, gentlemen, are my principles; if you don't like them they can easily be changed.' She is designed to be a *fin-de-siècle* personage, and is married to a worthless,

dissolute husband, to whose ill-treatment she submits rather strangely, considering her asserted independence of character. We say 'asserted' because we learn most about her from the tiresome narrative of an artistic friend. Through this channel we are solemnly informed that a woman in whom the writer has only kindled our most languid interest is often absent, wears becoming clothes, has fits of reverie in society, and is an ardent reformer. There is not one substantial flesh-and-blood human being from the book's commencement to its close, and its fitting title would be rather 'Idola' than *Ideala*.

But if *Ideala* contains no living personages it is crammed with opinion and arguments and assertion—some of them crude enough; some mature and sound—the best of these only stated to be forthwith abandoned—some reasoned out at considerable length. The shadowy *Ideala* conceives a passion for an equally unsubstantial creature, one Lorrimer, the curator of a hospital, and determines to live with him in adultery. This disagreeable topic is elaborately discussed, and although she is eventually dissuaded from her purpose, a sense of duty to God has no share in her decision. And here we may remark upon a feature which is common to most of the works before us, and which has suggested the title of our paper: we mean the mournful weariness of tone which pervades so much contemporary literature. In some degree its shadow darkens almost all modern thought, save where the grasp of Christian truth is firm and strong, and when the labour of the present, hard and perplexing as it often is, is but the road that leads to joy unspeakable and full of glory. But it lies in ever-increasing heaviness athwart all books which are the product of the purely realistic and materialistic spirit. *Ideala*, *The Heavenly Twins*, and *A Superfluous Woman* are all examples of its influence. Small comfort, indeed, is found in the pressure of weary sorrow from the trust that evolution is outworking the eventual redemption of mankind. As we close these volumes one after another their dark pessimism weighs upon our spirits, and their whole horizon is shut in with a leaden sky that bears the dreary motto, 'All creation groans together in pain and travail evermore.'

*The Heavenly Twins*, regarded as a work of imagination, is a great advance upon *Ideala*. Bright, sparkling, ingenious, original, its chief artistic fault is that it interweaves two independent stories which have no intimate connexion with each other, and that it thus distracts the reader's mind alternately from the one to the other. The title of the book is

derived, on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle, from a pair of bright, mischievous creatures, Diavolo and Angelica, whose merry pranks in childhood are inimitable, and of whom the latter carries into full-grown womanhood eccentricities which are only pardonable in a child. Alternately with the unfolding of their fortunes the career of Evadne is elaborately detailed: a second example of a woman miserably married, yet bearing with much dignity through long years the heavy yoke her father and husband have united to impose on her. With much that Mrs. Grand advances we are entirely in accord: with her indignant denunciation of the social crime of marrying a young and pure girl to a profligate, of whose true character her parents keep her intentionally ignorant; with her scornful contempt for the heartless frivolity that forms the staple of much society talk, its mean jealousy of superiority, and its greed for scandal; with her withering sarcasm upon the false notions of purity which can find in evil ample subject-matter for gossip, and yet shrink from touching it in any serious effort for its removal. There are many good things in *The Heavenly Twins*, besides an episode of singular fancy and beauty called the Tenor and the Boy, and the various threads of the story are woven skilfully to a worthy conclusion. Yet we regard Mrs. Grand's book as a work of dangerous tendency, not so much for its elaborated theories as for its undertone and the *obiter dicta* that are scattered through its pages.

Mrs. Grand apparently finds in religious convictions little more than occasion for a sneer. Evadne makes her future husband a subject of prayer, and asks for some sign by which she should know him (p. 30), and her piety is rewarded with the marriage to a profligate. Mr. St. John, a clergyman of noble character, 'has been nourished upon inconsistencies,' and is foolish enough to believe that God orders all things for the best and yet to pray Him to avert some special catastrophe (p. 199). The doctrine of original sin is held beneath contempt, whilst the hereditary transmission of both disease and vice are regarded as indubitable. The self-sacrifice of woman for centuries has not made the world one whit the better (what rank blasphemy!), and it is high time a more effectual plan was tried (p. 80). Priesthoods while preaching perfection *invariably* do their best to stop progress (p. 218), their tenets only furnish time-honoured anodynes which are soothing and deleterious (p. 349); they undermine energy by proclaiming the worthlessness of life; they work ecclesiasticism and neglect Christianity; in Morningquest, where the clergy

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swarmed, if you asked what good they were doing, you would hear that nobody knew (p. 355). The clergy are regarded by some writers as fair game for calumny, but the sapping and mining is rarely confined to them. If there were any truth in Christianity, those who profess it would have begun to practice its precepts by this time (p. 420). Such innuendoes are not confined to one person or one mould of character. As the above extracts will show, the book teems with them. They take their place suitably beside expressions which deny the reality of spiritual influence to work repentance. The clergy have had a long innings, but they are almost played out, and it is the doctors' turn to follow them with a broad positivism which complacently approves and patronizes Christianity and Buddhism, Brahmanism and Confucianism, but with impartial superiority to them all. A self-satisfied acquiescence in the persuasion that there is no such thing as free-will, and that religious ethics are only an ecclesiastical muddle; and a profound conviction of the superiority of women to the coarser sex, whose injustice and brutality it is her mission to expose and correct. Such is the moral outcome of Mrs. Sarah Grand's teaching, and she bids us to look forward to a religion of the future, unconscious that she is in its essentials accurately describing exactest elements of Christian truth, viz. 'the deepest reverence for moral worth, the tenderest pity for the frailties of human nature, and the most profound faith in its ultimate perfectibility' (p. 265).

We should hardly have entered upon the consideration of the works of Mrs. Sarah Grand were it not that they furnish a typical example of a special class of modern novels, and that their popularity is testified by the number of editions through which her books have rapidly passed. We cannot regard their wide and swift circulation as of good omen. Their authoress may rank as a leader in the revolt of women, and all the more objectionable tendencies which mark the movement may be detected in her pages. The authority of revelation is—*teste* Madame Grand—entirely exploded. The clergy, only convenient to introduce as poor creatures worthy for the most part of ridicule or contemptuous pity, are effete; their place is henceforth to be filled by doctors, who will teach anatomy instead of religious dogma. The world which has been going wrong for many ages is gradually righting itself, not under the guidance of divine providence, but through the blind energy of evolution. The salvation of society will be found only through the emancipation taken in its widest sense of woman, and the salvation of

woman in a fuller banquet upon the hitherto forbidden fruit of the tree of knowledge. The rejection of Christianity will be fittingly supplemented by acceptance of the serpent's invitation to become as gods, and paradise will be regained when partial acquaintance with good has been completed through unlimited knowledge of evil.

There is but one effectual antidote to the insidious danger which assails the rising generation in the guise of pleasant fiction, and woe be to us if we neglect to use effectually and prayerfully the remedy which is committed to our trust. In a fuller and deeper instruction of children of every class from their earliest years in religious truth—both historic and dogmatic—there and there alone will be found the adequate protection for the soul of the nation against every form of infidelity, however craftily administered. We sincerely trust that the increased attention now directed to education, both primary and secondary, will have this result, and the Church must arouse her laity to the deep importance of this matter if she is to hold her ground in these days of restlessness and bewilderment. One of the most powerful of living writers upon ethics<sup>1</sup> has demonstrated the corroding effects of Materialism upon both the higher and popular literature, and it is because we discern its symptoms in such works as *The Heavenly Twins* and *A Superfluous Woman* that we utter our emphatic protest against the unqualified laudation with which they have been recommended for admission to our English homes.

#### SHORT NOTICES.

*A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church.* Second Series. Translated into English with Prolegomena and Explanatory Notes under the editorial supervision of HENRY WACE, D.D., and PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D., in connexion with a number of Patristic Scholars of Europe and America. Vol. v. *Gregory of Nyssa: Dogmatic Treatises, &c.* Vol. vi. *St. Jerome: Letters and Select Works.* Vol. vii. *St. Cyril of Jerusalem: Catechetical Lectures; St. Gregory of Nazianzum: Select Orations and Letters.* (Oxford and New York: MDCCCXIII-IV.)

We have already and at considerable length<sup>2</sup> invited the attention of our readers to the earlier volumes of this series, and in returning to it we must in the first place ask to be allowed to add our wreath to the many which have been placed on the grave of Dr. Philip

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lilly, *On Right and Wrong.*

<sup>2</sup> *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1892, July 1893.



Schaff, who was its originator and chief editor. Dr. Schaff's general position as a theologian and an historian was widely different from our own, but we have always gladly recognized in him a man of wide conceptions, great erudition, indefatigable industry, perfect fairness, and unvarying courtesy. English readers are greatly indebted to him not only for his own contributions to many departments of theological science, but still more for his assistance in making accessible to them the rich stores of ancient as well as of modern learning. In many respects he resembled the Abbé Migne, and especially in the fact that he was obliged, by the vast extent of the work which he undertook, to entrust much to collaborateurs, and by the necessities of the case was often obliged to accept the assistance of men whom he could command, instead of that of men whom he would have chosen. It is much to be regretted that a series such as the present, which, if the execution had been equal to the conception, would have been invaluable to the English reader, and not to him alone, should be marred by inequalities of treatment, by the incompetence of individual workers, and by undue haste of production. If, for example, the historical studies of Dr. McGiffert and the bibliographical learning of Dr. Richardson had been based upon what is generally known in England as exact scholarship, or if their renderings had been read by the eye of a well-instructed and not unduly pressed editor, we might have had an edition of Eusebius not unworthy of a place beside the *Athanasius* of Dr. Robertson; though nothing short of a fresh choice of translator could have brought the second volume of the series up to the same level. We have to thank Dr. Schaff, however, for what he intended, and not to blame him for what others failed in; and readers on this side of the Atlantic have perhaps more occasion to wonder that the English editor, whose name has been connected with so much work of the first order, should have allowed not a little which is quite unworthy of him to appear under his editorial responsibility.

For the three volumes which are now before us we cannot afford the space of an article, and must be content to supply to our readers such brief information about them as can be contained in a 'Short Notice.'

The fifth volume consists of '*Select Writings and Letters of Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa*, translated, with Prolegomena, notes, and indices, by William Moore, M.A., rector of Appleton, late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford; and Henry Austin Wilson, M.A., Fellow and Librarian of Magdalen College, Oxford,' and these scholars had the great advantage of using in parts of their work materials which had been prepared by the Rev. H. C. Ogle, of whose lamented death they speak as an 'irreparable loss to scholarship.' Dr. Wace, the general editor, also offers 'a special acknowledgment of the invaluable help he has received from the exact and philosophical scholarship of the Rev. J. H. Lupton, surmaster of St. Paul's School,' to whom the Athanasian volume in this series was likewise indebted. He apologizes, but we think that the subscribers will feel with us that the

apology is quite unnecessary, for the delay which this unusual labour has caused. We have before had occasion to express our regret that there was not more delay. To keep faith with subscribers in point of time is important ; to maintain the high standard of work which they have been led to expect is much more important. We are glad, therefore, to be able to congratulate both editors and translators of the present volume on the success which has attended their labours. Their task was one of real difficulty—perhaps, all things considered, of greater difficulty than that of any other volume in this series. They had no previous English translation to guide them, and they had no good edition of the complete works before them, for all the materials collected by the Benedictine editors unhappily perished in the French Revolution. In textual criticism they profited, indeed, by the labours of Krabinger and Oehler, and of Bishop Forbes, to whom in many ways we have owed so much ; but they can truly say of most of their work that it had ‘never been illustrated by a single translator’s note, and by but a handful of scholia.’ It is encouraging under these circumstances to find Mr. Moore telling us in the opening of his preface that patristic Greek

‘is not necessarily the thing which it is, too easily, even in other instances, assumed to be. Granted the prolonged decadence of the language, yet perfects are not aorists, nor aorists perfects, the middle is a middle, there are classical constructions of the participle, the particles of transition and prepositions in composition have their *full* force in Athanasius : much more in Basil : much more in Gregory. It obscures facts to say that there was good Greek only in the age of Thucydides. There was good and bad Greek of its kind in every epoch, as long as Greek was living.’

And it is pleasant to find that the translation fulfils the hope which follows from this idea of the work and from the names of the workmen. The Prolegomena are also satisfactory and, perhaps, as full as we have a right to expect, though they fall a good deal short of the standard which Dr. Robertson had set in his edition of Athanasius. Where the reader will, we think, feel the absence of the help that, unless he is accustomed to philosophical speculation, he will certainly need, is in the *Treatises against Eunomius*, which occupy a considerable portion of the work. Here careful analyses and fuller notes would certainly have been welcome to the ordinary reader ; but the theologian who wishes to study one of the masterpieces of patristic thought and follow the steps by which the great Anomœan teacher was dislodged from the fortresses of his logic, will be thankful to have these treatises presented to him with a fullness and accuracy which have never been approached before. The other treatises included in this volume are ‘On the Holy Spirit,’ ‘On the Holy Trinity,’ ‘On “not three Gods,”’ ‘On the Faith,’ ‘On Virginity,’ ‘On Infants’ Early Deaths,’ ‘On Pilgrimages,’ ‘On the Making of Man,’ ‘On the Soul and the Resurrection,’ ‘The Great Catechism,’ ‘On Meletius,’ ‘On the Baptism of Christ,’ and eighteen of the ‘Letters.’

Where a selection has to be made there must necessarily be some omissions, and an Appendix reminds us that this volume does not

contain all of what may be called the important works of 'the Star of Nyssa.' We could wish that space had been found for some part of the works 'Against Apollinaris;' and room for the homilies 'On the Beatitudes' and 'On Prayer' (pronounced by Fabricius to be *lectu dignissima*), both of which are contained in Oehler's edition and German version, might have been profitably gained even by substitution.

Our last words on this volume must, however, tell not of omission but of performance, not of regret but of thankfulness. The stores of theology accessible to the English reader are permanently enriched by a work of real value, which has been added with great labour by men whose scholarship fitted them for their task.

The sixth volume contains *The Principal Works of St. Jerome*, and comes from the competent hands of Canon Fremantle, who proved his acquaintance with the subject by the article 'Hieronymus' in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. Jerome's controversy with *Rufinus* has already appeared from the same pen, and the *Lives of Illustrious Men*, by Dr. Richardson, in the third volume of the series. This arrangement was perhaps necessary, but is unfortunate. There would have been in more than one way a distinct gain if the whole of the works of this Father could have appeared together, and, as far as translation is concerned, if the whole could have been entrusted to Canon Fremantle's care.

Of the *Letters*, all are translated except (1) the exegetical letters, (2) the letters of Augustine, which have appeared in an earlier series of this Library, and (3) the encyclicals and letters of Theophilus, which are given in summary.

In the *Treatises* we have the 'Lives of the Hermits,' the 'Dialogue against the Luciferians,' the 'Treatise against Helvidius,' the 'Treatise against Vigilantius,' the 'Treatise against Jovinianus,' the 'Letter to Pammachius,' the 'Dialogue against the Pelagians.'

The remaining twenty pages of the text are occupied by selections from the *Prefaces*.

Again we feel regret that the principle of selection has rendered it necessary to exclude the whole of the *Commentaries*—though the prospectus of the series makes them prominent—and the important exegetical letters. The reader could scarcely expect a translation of the *Vulgate* in a volume of this kind; but he will perhaps doubt whether, as it stands, it quite justifies the title, *The Principal Works of St. Jerome*.

A short Preface tells us that the work of translation has been done by Mr. G. Lewis and Mr. W. G. Martley, two of Canon Fremantle's Balliol pupils; but their work has all been revised by himself. The rendering is in our opinion well adapted for its present purpose, though the reviser's eye has missed a slip here and there. The Prolegomena come from Canon Fremantle's own pen, and, though we again<sup>1</sup> miss both here and in the Notes the intimate acquaintance with modern German literature which characterized the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Church Quarterly Review*, July 1893, p. 288.

*Eusebius* and the *Athanasius*, they form a sufficient introduction, and are written with full knowledge of the works themselves, which is verified by frequent references.

One apparent contradiction probably explains many of the mistakes of which we have had to complain in some volumes of this series. The book is professedly printed in 'Cornmarket Street, Oxford,' which, if we remember rightly, is not very far from Balliol College, but Canon Fremantle tells us, 'I can hardly expect that, in a work which has been carried through amidst many pressing engagements, which has been printed three thousand miles away [!], and of which I have had only a single proof to correct, I have been able to avoid all mistakes;' and as a matter of fact the first sentence of this short Preface contains a misprint which cost us five minutes' search. Our readers may save themselves this trouble by correcting 'pp. xvii-xviii' to 'p. xxvii.'

The seventh volume was to have contained portions of *SS. Gregory of Nazianzum and Basil*; but instead of *St. Basil* we find *St. Cyril of Jerusalem*, which occupies the first part of the volume, a position which the prospectus had assigned to it in vol. viii. *St. Basil* is, we hope, therefore, only postponed to the place intended for *St. Cyril*, but we do not find any note to explain this.

'*The Catechetical Lectures of St. Cyril, Archbishop of Jerusalem*, with a revised Translation, Introduction, Notes, and Indices, by Edwin Hamilton Gifford, D.D., formerly Archdeacon of London, and Canon of St. Paul's,' has the advantage of being based upon the translation in the Oxford *Library of the Fathers*, of which the Preface by Newman stated 'that for almost the whole of it the editors were indebted to Mr. Church, Fellow of Oriel College.' It has the further advantage of being based to a large extent upon the excellent edition of Reischl and Rupp, the value of which is fully admitted by the editor. But its chief advantage is in the editor himself, whose scholarship and patient work have combined to produce a volume of distinct value. The scholarship is indeed what some of our younger disciples of Harnack and Zahn would call old-fashioned. We do not remember a reference to any *Zeitschrift*, and Zahn's *Marcellus of Ancyra* is quoted as it appears in Hefele's *Councils* (p. xlix), but if we are to choose between modern followers of the Germans, resulting e.g. in Dr. Richardson's edition of Jerome's *De Viris illustribus*, and the older scholarship of our own schools, of which an example is now before us, there can be no question what the decision should be. Happily this choice is not always necessary, as Dr. Robertson has shown us in his edition of the *Athanasius*, to the excellence of which we have more than once referred. Dr. Gifford's task was of narrower dimensions than that of some of his predecessors, but we are none the less grateful for the completeness with which he has performed it. Brief, but careful and sufficient, notes accompany the excellent translation, and this is preceded by an admirable Introduction, which, characteristically, he does not call *Prolegomena*. Our space does not allow us to dwell upon it, but

we will indicate the contents of the chapters by way of informing readers who have not seen the book what treasures they may expect to find here : i. 'Life of St. Cyril ;' ii. 'Catechetical Instruction ;' iii. 'Special Preparation for Baptism ;' iv. 'Ceremonies of Baptism and Chrism ;' v. 'Eucharistic Rites ;' vi. 'Effects of Baptism and Chrism ;' vii. 'Eucharistic Doctrine ;' viii. 'Place of St. Cyril's Lectures ;' ix. 'Time and Arrangement of St. Cyril's Lectures ;' x. 'The Creed of Jerusalem ; Doctrine of the Holy Trinity ;' xi. 'St. Cyril's Writings.'

The remainder of this volume is occupied by '*Select Orationes* [and *Select Letters*] of Saint Gregory Nazianzen, sometime Archbishop of Constantinople ; translated by Charles Gordon Browne, M.A., Rector of Lymington, Devon, and James Edward Swallow, M.A., Chaplain of the House of Mercy, Horbury.' It is accompanied by no Preface, and we have no indication of the lines of individual responsibility, though the singular pronoun is sometimes used, as in a note on page 193 : 'I have followed Ullmann and Nirschl' ! . . .

It would be a trying test for work of a higher order than that which we are now considering to be placed within the same covers as the *St. Cyril* of Dr. Gifford, but even when we bear this in mind we cannot think that the 'Prolegomena' to *St. Gregory* are at all worthy of its subject, or of the series in which they appear. They consist of some fifteen pages, the bulk of which are devoted to the *Life*, rather more than one to the *Writings*, and a few lines to *Literature*. In the *Life* we find such a sentence as this : 'In his seclusion, says Mr. Crake, his sole luxuries were a garden and a fountain.' Now it may be due to our ignorance, but we confess that we do not know what the authority referred to is, though we believe we could find original authority for the statement. Nor is it worth while to occupy a considerable portion of the few lines devoted to *Literature* by telling the English reader :

'Of modern works on the life and writings of our Saint the best are those of Dr. Ullmann and that [*sic*] of the Abbé Benoît. A valuable comparison of Gregory and Basil is to be found in Newman's *Church of the Fathers*, and last, but not least in value, may be mentioned the long biographical article by Professor Watkins in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* and a useful short summary in Schaff's *Church History* (311-600 [*sic*], vol. ii).'

Readers who know what is meant by the works of Ullmann and Benoît without any further reference (they are not even told that Ullmann has been in part translated) or have Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* on their shelves, do not need these Prolegomena ; but the readers for whom they are presumably intended have a right to expect that the materials would be digested for them, and the main facts clearly placed before them.

We have no right to speak of the translation because we have exhausted the space at our disposal, and have been able to examine it only cursorily. The passages we have looked at lead us to think that it fairly represents the original, which is not always easy to render ; but as there is no indication of textual criticism, or as a rule of

the text that is followed, it is not always certain what original is being rendered. We find here and there a helpful note ; but in this department as in others we cannot say, much as we should like to do so, that the work answers the expectations which we had been led to form.

A general note at the commencement of this volume states that 'S. Cyril is issued under the editorial supervision of Dr. Wace, and S. Gregory Nazianzen under that of the translators.' This is not in accordance with the prospectus of the series, nor with the title-page of this and the preceding volumes. If the absence of editorial supervision of the second part of the volume is the result of the illness and death of the lamented Dr. Schaff, it is a pity that this reason is not given, and a greater pity that the publication was not postponed. But as the note stands the reader is naturally somewhat perplexed to find that a writer of the scholarship and learning of Dr. Gifford, who is, moreover, following a classical translation and working from an excellent modern edition of the text, should have the advantage of the editorial assistance of Dr. Wace ; and two writers of less experience and knowledge, doing for the most part pioneer work, should have no such assistance. The result does not remove the perplexity, though perhaps it explains the note.

*The Truth of the Christian Religion.* By JULIUS KAFTAN, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Translated from the German, under the Author's supervision, by GEORGE FERRIES, B.D. With a Prefatory Note by ROBERT FLINT, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Edinburgh. Two Volumes. (Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark, 1894.)

THE reader will not have been long engaged with these volumes before he finds that he has to do with a very German work. We must even confess that we do not find it so free as Dr. Flint asserts from the literary peculiarities which constitute defects in German treatises. Possibly some of these may appear more plainly in the translation than in the original, and that without imputing the least defect, either of care or intelligence, to the translator. But the German language lends itself with ease and by nature to a continued strain of philosophical treatment of questions strictly historical, while the more practical English tongue seems, after a certain sojourn at the bird's-eye point of view, to be longing for a descent to the ways and walks of actual human life. When a sturdy Englishman like Paley treats of the truth of the Christian religion, we know what we are to expect. He will try to make plain things still plainer ; his proofs will consist of historical facts or principles of belief which nobody can deny, linked on with irresistible cogency to the creed which he desires to prove ; and even when Butler applies his more general analogies the process is equally human and level with the earth. But a German work upon the same subject is different. It takes up the creed, with its history, into the region of philosophical thought, as a legal case might be carried into a higher court ; and the question is how the creed, or the something more sublimated which lies



underneath the creed, will look when subjected to the intense intelligence and universal reason of that lofty tribunal. And we probably find that not only the creed, but even the objections to the creed are far easier to understand than these proofs of its truth. And yet the German method is very good when well used.

It is well used by Dr. Kaftan. The student of thought and doctrine in the Church of God cannot fail to derive great instruction and fresh impulses of reflexion from a perusal of the work. He will find it—at least, if we may judge from our own experience—written a little too much in the style of a superior person; and it is even a more real defect that it labels writers and periods too exclusively under one or other tendency of thought. But we have found ourselves drawn constantly onwards by the immense information and power of analysis of which the book gives proof. A more intense belief than the writer displays of the presence and power of God in the Church, and of the watchfulness of the Divine Teacher over her development, in spite of all her human infirmities, will enable the reader to find in this study of Christianity and its work in the minds of its adherents an admirable testimony to its Divine truth.

The author is a follower of the school of Ritschl, which, by the estimate of Professor Flint, an eminently competent authority, is at present the dominant and still growing theology of Germany. It represents the Christian Faith as its own sufficient foundation, and appeals for proof of its truth to the feelings and the practical judgment, forbidding the theoretical reason to interfere with the question. We see, therefore, what we have to expect in a treatise on the truth of the Christian religion founded upon such a basis. It will condemn a great deal of the theology of the past as a mere intellectual exercise, turning the mind away from the true functions of Christian faith and deadening by disuse the faculties by the exertion of which we can alone attain to a genuine belief in the truth of the Christian religion.

Every one who has studied his own spirit will take up the perusal of such a book prepared, on the one hand, to maintain that the truths which affect his feelings and his moral nature must have some relation to his intellect; and must submit on occasion to be formulated into a theory which the mind can apprehend, and proved as such on pain of being condemned and set aside as mere floating influences without genuine reality. On the other hand we shall be ready to admit that the mental process of framing theories of the religious life may lose its hold, first of feeling and afterwards of morality, and become a purely intellectual performance, such as men of sufficient learning and ability may exercise without any result in the increase of their religion or their holiness, but rather with that of occupying the mind to the exclusion of both. And if this takes place the perception of the truth of a faith so essentially practical and living as Christianity has really been lost. These conditions and possibilities belong essentially to human thinking. They are in the nature of man, and have existed at all times and under every form of religious belief. Even those religions which attach most importance to faith and to

feelings, and have been established and framed to promote evangelical fervour on the ruins of theological theory, may themselves in a generation or two become as theoretical and devoid of living truth as the systems they displaced. Or even if a generation does not go that length, an individual is quite capable of performing the petrifying process for himself. Our feelings and moral principles are ever running the risk either of remaining too fluid by refusing the aid of dogmas, or becoming too solid by introducing it in an excessive degree. Either way the 'truth of the Christian religion' vanishes.

It is Professor Kaftan's belief that the earliest efforts of the Church to cast faith into dogmas were influenced by intellectual forces which did not really belong to the faith itself.

'Nothing,' he admits, 'lay further from the intention of the old theologians than deliberately to mix up Christian faith with heathen philosophy. To set forth that interpretation of the faith which was within their reach and actually attained by them, and to defend it, was the object which they pursued. The dogma resulting from their efforts was meant, therefore, from the nature of the case, to be nothing but an expression of Christian truth. But it is just as certain that their scientific work as such, and consequently the form of dogma, was determined by philosophy' (p. 32).

This is apparently the same theory of the influence of Greek methods of thought upon the form of the Christian creed which was presented to us so strongly by the late Professor Hatch. And we know not why any Catholic Christian should refuse to acknowledge that when the Church was forced in her contests with heathen and heretics to resort to logic, and the forms of statement which logic demands, she used for that purpose the language and the forms of thought in which the best work of that kind that, even up to this hour, has been done in the world, had appeared. We may very well share the belief which so many of the 'old theologians' entertained that Greek work in thought and language was divinely appointed for the use of the faith. On the other hand, why should we think it wrong to regret that so much theory became necessary, or to look back with longing to the simpler times of the New Testament, when the religion of Christ consisted more of faith and worship and less of doctrine?

At the same time we must remember that our Lord Himself guided His apostles to draw a dogmatic conclusion from their experience of Him. He teaches us the possible danger of such a step by His refusal to impose a dogma upon men until by faithful and loving intercourse they had furnished a religious basis for it and could receive it as the congenial support of feeling and moral conduct. When that had been done He asked them, 'Whom say ye that I am?' In like manner St. Paul, under the stress of danger to the faith, formulates the theory of justification. And while we perfectly allow the dangers of dogma we know not what can be said against the formation of the creed by the Christian Church which cannot be equally urged against these portions of the teaching of our Lord and His apostle.

Dr. Kaftan's history of the relations of thought, morals, and

religion in the heathen schools and in the Christian Church is eminently interesting and suggestive (pp. 52-73). But when he informs us that there was a combination of Hellenism with Judaism, and that 'the outcome of that process of fusion was nothing else than the Catholic religion and the Catholic creed;' that 'the faith experienced a transformation in consequence; that the Christian faith and the speculative mystical gnosis which has been spoken of are still, in spite of their affinity, two essentially different realities, and that all this may surely be regarded as a fact which does not require to be proved' (pp. 87, 88)—we honestly confess that we cannot follow so fast. We should like to see his proof. We perfectly acknowledge the intrusion of speculation into the beliefs of the Church; we confess the peril to which the faith has been exposed of becoming a merely external possession acquired by church membership and separated from that living feeling and active power which is called faith. But to assign this separation to an era and to a Church seems to us a proceeding not exempt from the charge of myth-making. These tendencies and dangers belong, as we have said, to human nature at all periods. And if Catholic theology, even when imposed in too imperious a form, and pretending an authority in divine matters which does not belong to man, has often externalized and intellectualized the Christian religion, has it not also formed a protection and defence for simple Christian souls under cover of which they have been delivered from the trouble of speculation and set free for an intercourse of feeling and moral sympathy—that is, for an exercise of faith towards the Saviour and His work, such as is almost comparable to that of the Apostles themselves? And might it not be plausibly declared, upon weighing the results of the Reformation, that the benefit gained by the surrender of Catholicity has, for the most part, been found much more in liberty for self-confident and unfaithful intellect than either for feeling or morality or faith?

The fact is, in our humble judgment, that in order to secure that sympathetic, practical, untheoretical, unargumentative sense of the truth of the Christian religion to which Dr. Kaftan most justly restricts the term faith, a more human and earthly appeal to the heart, and even the senses, is required than his much-beloved evangelical reformation has left to the German Christian. The revelation of God in Christ, which made faith possible, consisted in placing the object of faith with us here on earth, to be seen and spoken to, loved and served in human fashion, and to introduce men to higher spiritual regions by sympathy with His Humanity. Can it be possible that the means of securing faith in after times shall be so different from what they were during His earthly lifetime? Can even the memory of His life and death supply the place of that vivid faith in the Church and her ordinances which for many generations of primitive Christianity supplied the place of His visible presence, before ever the arrogance of teachers and the intellectual indolence of the taught made men stop short upon the ladder without reaching the spiritual regions to which it leads?

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II

We by no means assert that Dr. Kaftan has wholly failed to notice these and such like benefits of Catholicity.

'Manifestly the Church in upholding dogma as inviolable thereby represented the interests of the Christian religion. That is true first in the purely *formal* sense. Christianity cannot be handed over to the experiments of that reason which occupies and must occupy the position of a pioneer, which is only seeking the truth. It must be rather measured by the standard of divine revelation, and by it alone; *i.e.* as the revelation is something given, Christianity itself also must be established once for all as given truth. . . . It is true that they did not on that account require to rest in mere traditionalism. Indeed, a man like Anselm was able as a matter of fact to reconcile both interests, the ecclesiastical and the scientific. While that was no settlement of the matter of principle, strictly speaking, yet ecclesiastical theology could continue in its own paths and so satisfy the opposite need concurrently. And was not a retreat from those paths, ecclesiastically considered, an error and loss? At the same time, however right that seems, we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that it harmonizes more with the medieval as well as with the modern Catholic Church than with our position as Evangelicals to allow ourselves to be satisfied with the *letter as such in religion*. For that Church pure doctrine, according to the Word of God, is not, as for us Evangelical Christians, the centre from which all pious and ecclesiastical life is regulated. According to the Catholic conception dogma is only an element—although a very important one, still only a single element alongside of others—in the great economy of the Church. The popular mysticism characteristic of its worship and the moral discipline of life by means of the confessional have, in Catholicism, the same significance, and, indeed, for the piety of the people, and perhaps not for that merely, greater significance than doctrine. . . . It is chiefly as a component part of the organism of worship that dogma gains its practical significance for the communion of the pious. And that is a position which it can quite well occupy as a fixed tradition, as a sacred letter—perhaps, indeed, best of all in that form. The mysterious statements, often not understood, correspond directly to the mysterious acts by which the pious feeling of the Catholic people is kindled' (vol. i. pp. 150-152).

An Anglican may perhaps be excused for hoping that in his communion pure doctrine, according to the Word of God, may have been preserved without so total a surrender of the principles of tradition and mystery as makes the devotion of Roman Catholic worship a thing for the pious Evangelical to contemplate with wistful admiration as lost to him. However, if the reader appreciates the insight of this passage at the same high value as we do, he will know that the whole field of doctrinal history, and the actual relations of Christianity as the Chief Good to human life, treated with German thoroughness of information by a mind of this power, furnishes a work in the highest degree worthy the study of any thoughtful Christian, whether he be a student who is still inquiring for his own edification, or a teacher who reads for the benefit of others—or whether he unites both characters, a combination which is better than either by itself.

*Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius.* Erster Theil, *Die Ueberlieferung und der Bestand.* Bearbeitet, unter Mitwirkung von Lic. ERWIN PREUSCHEN, von ADOLF HARNACK. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1893.)

It is characteristic of German industry and enterprise that this stout volume of nearly eleven hundred closely printed pages is only the first part of a work which is itself but the Prolegomena to a library of Early Christian literature. In 1891 the Prussian Academy resolved to undertake a series of editions of the Greek Fathers, which will form a companion issue to the Vienna Library of the Latin Fathers; and by way of introduction to this edition Professor Harnack undertook, and with the help of Herr Preuschen has achieved, this colossal survey of the literature of the whole subject. Such a work cannot be welcomed too warmly or brought too prominently to the notice of all students of Church history and literature. The scheme of the volume now published is to enumerate every work of Greek Christian literature, whether extant or known only by name or in fragments, from the earliest times (excluding, however, the canonical books) down to the period of Eusebius; to collect all the references made to each work in the writings of the other Fathers; to give a list of all the manuscripts (if there be any) in which each work, or part of it, is preserved, and often to give a statement of the relationship of the manuscripts to one another; and though it is no part of the principle of the work to describe all the editions of each treatise, yet the references to authorities are so full that in most cases the student would be directed to the places in which the best information about his author is to be obtained. It will be seen that in this plan there is little room for the introduction of controversial matter. The volume is a vast assemblage of facts, and of just those facts which an inquirer needs to know before starting on the study of an Early Christian author. Here one can admire without reserve the enormous learning and industry of Professor Harnack and of those who work under him.

Take, for instance, the article on Clement of Alexandria, for which, according to the preface, Herr Preuschen is primarily responsible, though the supreme direction rests with Professor Harnack. Two and a half close-pressed pages contain the most important witnesses to the date and works of Clement, such as Julius Africanus, Eusebius and the writers quoted by him, Epiphanius, Theodoret, Jerome, Malalas, Sozomen, the Paschal Chronicle, Photius, and sundry others, concluding with a list of some writers who made use of his works. Next follows a list of his writings, with the first and last words of each, and a statement of the manuscripts in which it is preserved, or of the authors to whom we owe the extant fragments of it. This occupies twelve and a half pages, several of which are given up to a collection of quotations from the ὁμοιωσεις which are found in various writers. Finally, as a sort of continuation of this section, all the quotations from any of the extant works are set forth in detail, occupying sixteen full pages. When it is remem-

bered that Clement's principal work, the *Stromateis*, is preserved only in one manuscript, and that the only means of checking or confirming this authority consists in the quotations (fortunately rather numerous) made by other writers, the great importance of this collection of the quotations is evident. Thus in this, which is only one example among many, a great and very laborious part of the work of an editor of Clement is done for him. Every future student or editor of an ante-Nicene Father will be obliged to make Professor Harnack's work his starting-point. Apocryphal, anonymous, and fragmentary works are all swept within the Professor's net, the total number of articles amounting to about four hundred and fifty.

In one respect, however, completeness is unattainable. The progress of discovery has been so rapid that already several deficiencies may be noted in the original work. The articles on the Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter had evidently been written before the publication of the fragments recently discovered in Egypt, which are described by way of supplement to their respective sections. The extent to which our knowledge has progressed even since that date is proved by the thirty-two pages of additions and corrections which Professor Harnack has published as an appendix to the first part of the twelfth volume of *Texte und Untersuchungen*. Here the searcher for novelties will find all the latest discoveries, briefly described though they inevitably are—the two *libelli* of the Decian persecution, the apocryphal works published by Mr. M. R. James in the Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, the Latin version of St. Clement of Rome discovered by Dom. G. Morin, and other less important publications and speculations. But though Professor Harnack's present compilation must inevitably grow antiquated in course of time, yet, now that the great mass of the work has been done, it will be a comparatively light matter to keep it up to date in subsequent editions. In any case it remains the necessary starting-point for all future work in this field of knowledge, and the future discoverer of any of the lost Christian writings will turn hither at once to see what information has hitherto been available in reference to it.

Nor must the indices be forgotten, of which there are three—one of authors and writers, with an appendix of names of martyrs; one of manuscripts; and one, perhaps the most useful of all to those whose fortune it is to work among manuscripts, of the first words of treatises. These represent a great amount of labour on the part of their compiler, and a corresponding saving of it to future students. One little slip will be noticed by English readers in the list of English manuscripts, whereby a number of the Royal MSS. in the British Museum are separated from the British Museum MSS. and described as 'Reginens,' as though they were to be found in the Queen's library at Windsor. 'Christ's Coll.' and 'Regius Coll.' also look odd in a list of Oxford College libraries.

Only one portion of this colossal work must be excepted from the unreserved praise which is due to all the rest, and that is the Introduction, in which Professor Harnack gives a survey, in some forty



pages, of the causes which affected the transmission of Christian literature in the period to which his volume relates. We do not, of course, mean that any utterance of so eminent an authority on the subject could be otherwise than interesting and instructive; but the manner in which this sketch is executed compares unfavourably with the dispassionate collection of facts of which the body of the book consists. Professor Harnack proposes, in the second part of his work, to write the literary history of the period at length, and in such a history his own conclusions as to the course of that history will no doubt be in place, and he will have room to support them by such evidence as he is able to bring. But in a brief sketch, such as that of which we are now speaking, he has no space for evidence, and his statements are far from being self-evident. Professor Harnack's learning is enormous; but we trust that we may be pardoned for affirming that he often shares the want of historical imagination which is characteristic of so many of his countrymen. The main thesis of his introduction seems to us to illustrate this deficiency in a marked manner.

Professor Harnack's contention is, briefly, that the doctrines of the Church, notably in respect to the nature of our Lord, changed radically between the second century and the fourth; that the chief writers of the ante-Nicene period were not in accord with this changed theology; and that consequently the Church, in part consciously and in part unconsciously, suppressed their writings, with the exception of those of Ignatius and the pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. He admits the enormous service done by the Church in preserving the sacred books of the Old and New Testament safe and substantially pure; but he considers it to blame for the loss of the many non-canonical works of the second and third centuries which have not come down to us. The genuine writings of theologians were put on one side and discountenanced, and a swarm of unauthentic works, making false claims to apostolic or sub-apostolic parentage, sprang up instead. So the genuine tradition of Christian antiquity was overlaid with a mass of supposititious material.

Now, first it may be observed that this pseudepigraphic literature, in which the Church is supposed to have delighted, has disappeared even more fully than the works of Origen, Irenæus, Justin, and the other writers on whom it is supposed to have looked with disfavour. But a more serious defect is the assumption that the theology of the post-Nicene Fathers was different from that of the primitive Church, and that it was only by suppressing the earlier writers and forcing the meaning of the sacred books that the claim of continuity of doctrine could be maintained. Such a principle could only be accepted as a basis for a literary history of the period if it were supported by full proof; and this proof Professor Harnack does not give, and, from the limits of his space, could not give. If his theory of the early history of Christian literature is based on so questionable a foundation it should have been reserved for the second part of his work, in which he will have fuller space at his command. Meanwhile it is clear that, in his desire to insist on this view, which is discreditable to the early Church, he has overlooked some other

less disputable facts which obviously tend to explain the phenomenon in question without being discreditable to any one. The ante-Nicene Church was a comparatively small Church, and it was a persecuted Church. Intercommunication between different parts of it was less free than afterwards; publication of literary works to any large extent was impossible. In times of active persecution many volumes of Christian writings would be destroyed. When State toleration and countenance introduced a condition of affairs more favourable to the production and circulation of literary works, the grave questions then at issue naturally engrossed most attention, and it is not surprising that the great contemporary writers were more read and copied than their predecessors, whose works were of less immediate interest. To these considerations may be added the increasing use of vellum as the material on which literary works were transcribed, in place of papyrus. The earlier writings were written on the more perishable material, and were thus far more in danger of destruction by external causes. It can hardly be questioned that all these were conditions unfavourable to the preservation of the ante-Nicene literature; but Professor Harnack ignores them completely. When, finally, we take into account the uncritical character of those ages, which we may admit as fully as Professor Harnack, and regret from our own point of view without finding it culpable from theirs, we can explain the disappearance of much of the primitive literature without attributing it to the deliberate hostility of the Byzantine Church.

The limits of a short notice do not allow us to elaborate this issue, nor should we wish to emphasize our disagreement with this small fraction of Professor Harnack's work, at the risk of obscuring our strong sense of the value of by far the greater part of it. English scholars and students, however much they may dissent from some of his conclusions, will yet acknowledge his great services to Christian literature and history as freely and as fully as he himself acknowledges the work of Routh, Hatch, Hort, Lightfoot, and Salmon. The volume which is to follow will probably contain plenty of contentious matter, and controversy may be deferred until then. For the immense collection of useful material in the present volume we would express nothing but gratitude.

*The Conversion of India, from Pantænus to the Present Time.* By GEORGE SMITH, C.I.E., LL.D. (London: John Murray, 1893.)

THIS volume is the expansion of a series of lectures delivered last year in New York on the foundation known as the Graves Lecture. The author, who was for many years resident at Serampore as the editor of the *Friend of India*, and who is better known as the writer of several missionary biographies, is well qualified to speak of modern Indian missions from the point of view of an earnest and somewhat narrow Presbyterian. Thus the earlier part of the book, and particularly the account of Xavier and of the Roman attempt to convert India, is the least satisfactory. The circumstances under which the volume originated would prepare us to find ample justice done to American effort for the evangelization of our great de-

pendency ; but the same hearty recognition is not extended to individuals or societies other than Evangelical. The author's bias is from time to time unpleasantly perceptible. The word 'Catholic' is a special favourite of his, but it is habitually misapplied, as, for instance, when he writes of 'the Catholic [*sic*] Calcutta University,' a secular institution which at least has no claim to a capital C. On the other hand, Bishop's College, Calcutta, is said to be not 'catholic,' because its 'platform' is not that of the Evangelical Alliance. It is in accordance with this that both Bishop Milman and Dr. Mill are not so much as mentioned among names worthy of commemoration, though Ion Keith Falconer, of the Free Kirk, who never set foot in India, is included. The Church Missionary Society is said to represent two-thirds of the Church of England, and the observance of St. Andrew's Day as the day of intercession for missions is credited to 'the Evangelical Churches of Christendom,' the fact being that it is a purely Anglican observance. But while the book is disfigured by this partizan spirit it contains a great deal of information in the later chapters as to the methods and results of Protestant missionary work in the present century. Those results are certainly not contemptible. Apart from the Church of Rome and the Syrian Church of Travancore, more than half a million souls represent at this moment the results of the labours of other Christian agencies. It is a matter for reproach that the Church of England does not take the lead in this crusade, as she might be expected to do. The prominence of America as an evangelizing force in India (as is remarked in the recently published *Report of the Anglican Boards of Missions*) is a very notable fact. The American Church, in communion with our own, has no missionary work in India. But the American Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists are all influentially represented there, and out of sixty-one different organizations working in India, Burmah, and Ceylon, no fewer than eighteen have their origin in and derive their maintenance from the United States. While it is true that the rate of progress of these societies during the last ten years has been greater than that of the missions of the Church of England, it would be found upon inquiry that this was partly due, in Northern India at least, to difference of method. There is a readiness to baptize which in the Punjab has already had lamentable consequences, as the Report of the Narowal Mission, by the Rev. Rowland Bateman, of the C.M.S., shows. The real progress of Christianity in India is to be seen not so much in tabulated statistics of baptisms and Church-membership as in a multitude of indications of the progress of Christian ideas, and in the prevalence among large numbers of the educated classes of new moral standards and spiritual ideals. Every one who is acquainted with our missionary colleges and high schools knows how many Hindus seem to be 'timidly waiting for a general movement which they may be able to join without personal risk ; but the time may any day come when masses of them will become not only almost, but altogether followers of Christ.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Caldwell, quoted by Dr. G. Smith, p. 217

As regards the Mohammedans of India, Dr. Smith speaks of them less hopefully, describing them by a singular confusion of metaphor as 'the forlorn hope of the missionary campaign.' Yet, putting out of sight those who are only called Hindus by courtesy—the depraved classes outside the pale of caste—the number of recent baptisms among Mohammedans is not very much below those of high-caste Hindus. And there is this to be noted, that it is from among the best educated Mohammedans, and those best instructed in their own faith, that the accessions chiefly are derived. Dr. Imad-ud-din, of Amritsar, himself a convert from Islam and now a priest and doctor of divinity, in a paper written for Chicago, gives a brief account of no fewer than 117 men of education and position won from Mohammedanism. Wherever the controversy with Islam is prosecuted with adequate knowledge, with the desire to utilize to the full the common ground between that system and Christianity, and at the same time with a deep sense of the moral evil inseparable from Mohammedanism, it is by no means fruitless.

*Die Verfassung der Kirche von England.* Von F. MAKOWER, Dr. Jur. (Berlin : J. Guttentag, 1894.)

THE author starts with the theory of Comte that nothing can be understood apart from its history. We can no more understand the 'Constitution of the Church of England' than we can understand the constitution of any other thing until we have traced it backward through the successive stages of its development to its first germ. The author's fellow-countrymen have always made, and still make, such amazing mistakes concerning the Church of England, because they have never studied the 'Englisch-kirchliche Verfassung' in the same temper, nor by the same scientific methods, as they have studied and described the 'Englische Verfassung,' upon which they have written so excellently. The great German masters of constitutional history and jurisprudence, such as Professor Gneist, see from the first the difference between the 'English Constitution' and those numerous written and printed 'Constitutions' which may be read in the two bulky volumes of Demombynes's *Constitutions Européennes*. The English Constitution, they tell their scholars, is not to be learned off-hand from any document, but can only be understood by the patient observation of England's own living historical evolution. The ecclesiastical and theological lecturers in the German Universities, on the contrary, have mostly followed an unscientific method in their exposition of the Constitution of the English Church. They have assumed that a Church is a society which has been constituted—by which they mean manufactured rather than organically evolved—upon a certain definite documentary plan, and that if we can get hold of the plan of its architect or architects we shall therein find the 'constitution' of the Church, and thence learn what it ought to be. Thus so capable a critic, historian, and archæologist as the late Dr. G. B. Winer imaginatively constructed one after another of the seven 'Churches' in his *Komparative Darstellung*—the Roman Church, the Greek Church, the Lutheran Church, the Reformed

Church, the Baptists, the Socinians, and the Quakers—upon his examination of written documentary plans, such as the Canons and Decrees of Trent, the Augustan Confession, the Thirty-nine Articles, the Westminster Confession, Robert Barclay's *Apology*, and an enormous heap of other papers. In his scheme, as in that of all foreign Protestant theologians anterior to the Vatican Council, the Church of England makes the most humble show; she appears as little else than a modified subdivision of the 'Reformed Church' as distinct from the 'Lutheran Church.' Every German student of ecclesiology was solemnly assured and persuaded that he might soon learn all that he needed to know about the English Church if he would diligently compare the words of the 'Articuli XXXIX Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ' with the numerous other 'Confessions' in the *Corpus et Syntagma Confessionum*, or collate the language of her Catechism with that of Calvin's Geneva Catechism, the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Zürich Catechism. That the Church of England is a living society, in the long course of whose constitutional development the publication of the Articles and the Catechism were accidents of natural evolution, like the structural addition of an apse, or a chapter-house, or a new chapel to an old cathedral, or the exchange of one vestment for another, or the substitution of English for Latin in the Church's common worship, never once came into the minds of these busy observers of the letter. Dr. Makower knows more of the 'letter' of his subject than any earlier German student of the English Church could pretend to; but he sees also what they left out of sight—her formative spirit and life.

The method adopted by Dr. Makower in his treatment of the Book of Common Prayer, as the contemporary rule and vehicle of the public worship of the English Church, will give some hint of his method throughout the work. The common worship of the Church is an action of historical continuity from generation to generation. The same three dominant periods are to be kept in mind while observing the evolutions of the English liturgy, which have been noted in the observation of parallel facts in the evolution of the Constitution of the English Church. First there is the period which begins with the work of the Roman and Celtic missionaries, and ends with the Norman Conquest. For the 'alte Britische Liturgie nach A.D. 429' he sends the reader to Haddan and Stubbs and to Mr. F. E. Warren's *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*. The second period begins with the Norman Conquest and ends with the abolition of the Papal supremacy over the English Church; here the literature of the common English 'Gottesdienst' must be studied by the help of Maskell, Palmer, Warren, and others. The third period begins with the Reformation, when the native speech definitively dispossessed the Latin, and continues in possession to the present day, while the local diocesan 'uses' are welded into one common national use. The German student is referred to Cardwell, Proctor, Lathbury, Keeling, Swainson, and others.

The reader who first looks at the Book of Common Prayer, and has no knowledge of its history, will see at the most cursory glance

that neither it nor the public worship of the English Church can be understood simply *per se*. The very preface asserts that the book is an *Entwicklung*—an evolution, a gradual formation from its preceding germ or germs. It speaks of 'the first original and ground' of 'the Common Prayer in the Church'; it refers to its nearest liturgical predecessors 'in this Church of England,' and to their diversity, 'some following Salisbury *Use*, some Hereford *Use*, and some the *Use* of Bangor, some of Lincoln.' The Book of Common Prayer thus stands upon the old ground of continuity, not upon that of revolutionary origination. If the German inquirer goes back from the first English Common Prayer Book to these 'Uses' of Sarum, Bangor, &c., he finds that he cannot stay at them; for they are but the diocesan variations and forms of the continuous public worship of the English Church, which must have had its beginning with the beginning of the Church. Hence the original *Keim*—the germ, embryo, or seed-bud—of the present English Common Prayer Book is to be found in the questions and answers which passed between St. Augustine and Gregory the Great at the beginning of the appearance of the Church in England as '*Anglorum Ecclesia*.' St. Augustine had to institute a common worship for the newly converted English. He knew, as St. Gregory said to him, the use of the Roman Church in which he had been educated; but he would not servilely adopt the Roman *consuetudo* as a model for the English, but rather carefully select from the Roman use, the Gallican uses, or the uses of any other Churches, whatever things he judged to be pious, religious, and right. The result of the memorable conference at Whitby (*Streoneshalch*) between the representatives of Roman and Celtic uses, in 664, settled the Common Prayer of the English Church into a distinctly Roman direction, which appeared later in the order of the Council of Clovesho (747) prescribing the use of the Roman *Litania Major*. The final evolution of a Book of Common Prayer for all English dioceses and parishes, whatever judgment may be passed upon its internal worth or defects, was the splendid historical outcome of the consultation of St. Gregory the Great by St. Augustine. The germ of the Common Prayer is discernible in Bede's report. We can imagine the patriotic satisfaction with which our English fathers at last wrote the words, 'Now from henceforth all the whole realm shall have but one Use.'

Dr. Makower sees eight successive periods in the external history of the first uniform and common liturgy and office-book of the English Church. We need not give any account of his fairly correct history of the Common Prayer Book under Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, and James I.; but when he comes to his sixth stage in its history, which he calls the period of 'the first Revolution (1640 to 1660),' he is the victim of a queer delusion. During that period the Common Prayer Book was abolished, and even the use of it in private families was at last declared to be illegal. We should like to see the document from which Dr. Makower derived his amazing notion that the Long Parliament first took steps against the English Common Prayer because 'the bishops hesitated to ordain any persons who did



not belong to the King's party.' The Long Parliament at the date which he gives (October 2, 1644) had definitively become the organ of one political party; it was a Parliament in which there was no Opposition, and it had but one object in all its Erastian ecclesiastical legislation—namely, to secure Puritanical support and money by satisfying all the anti-episcopal and anti-liturgical clamours of the 'Nonconformist conscience.' That conscience had long been agitating against ordination by bishops as one of the survivals of anti-Christian apostasy. Hence it was not screaming to the Lords and Commons to compel the unwilling bishops to ordain, but totally to abolish the bishops and their ordination. The Parliament in 1648 established the brand-new paper constitution of a new ordination and a new ministry, which was drawn up by its own Erastian Nonconformist delegates in their Westminster Assembly, in order to secure for itself the enthusiastic support of the Nonconformist preachers, and not because the bishops refused to ordain. Dr. Makower says, 'Die hierauf bezüglichen Parlamentsverordnungen sind bei Scobell (*Acts and Ordinances*) nicht erwähnt.' They certainly are not. So he turns from the contemporary Scobell and gives a mere guess of the inaccurate sectarian writer Neal, in the next century, as his authority. It is needless to tell English readers that the Erastian Parliamentary 'Presbyterian Prayer Book,' of which he speaks, was never 'introduced in the stead of the Book of Common Prayer in England and Wales.' The Long Parliament's new paper 'constitution' of a Presbyterian Church and ministry never took hold of any great part of England, and it was virtually abolished by the Rump Commonwealth's newer paper 'Constitution' of State 'Public Preachers,' who might be either Presbyterians, Independents, or Baptists, provided they were Calvinists in theology and 'well affected' in politics. Cromwell found this paper 'Constitution' of the Rump in force when he made himself Cæsar, and he firmly established it by his two tyrannical committees—the 'Commissioners for the Ejection of Scandalous Ministers' and the 'Commissioners for the Approbation of Public Preachers.'

We have said enough upon this one section of Dr. Makower's treatise to show the character of the whole. It is the first time that a German has set himself seriously to find out and describe what the Constitution of the Church of England actually is. There is not the smallest detail of her life and growth and present condition which he has passed over as insignificant to his purpose, or which he does not trace backward historically to its original germ. Even the 'Organisten' and the 'Küster' (sextons) have each a section and a history to themselves. We know of no other book which contains between its title-page and its methodical index so encyclopædical a reference to the constitutional literature of the English Church in every period of her history and every aspect of her present life. He seems to be as much at home in every volume of the *Chronicle of Convocation* as he certainly is in Florence of Worcester and William of Malmesbury; and he even includes a very lucid and full account of the history of the Church in the United States of America. The

faults of his work are such as a competent Anglican scholar could readily correct, and we sincerely wish that some such adept may be provoked by the sight of this book to do for his Church what a foreigner has here so excellently done, and perfect what is here wanting.

*Church Work: its Means and Methods.* By the Right Rev. J. MOORHOUSE, Bishop of Manchester. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1894.)

THIS book consists of a series of addresses delivered by the Bishop of Manchester to the clergy of his diocese during his visitation. The first address describes the Bishop's method. Taking the rural deaneries in succession, he visited each parish, examined the church, schools, and other parochial buildings; whenever possible catechized the children and addressed some of the parishioners, and discussed the condition of the parish with the clergy and their lay helpers. After this personal examination of the parishes, he delivered a short visitation address, different in the case of each deanery, to the clergy. It is unnecessary for us to do more than briefly allude to the excellence of a method admirably calculated to keep the Bishop informed of the real condition of his diocese, and in touch with the clergy and laity of it. Nor need we dwell on the many signs of hard and intelligent Church work done in the diocese of Manchester which appear in the book, or on the encouraging character of much to which reference is made.<sup>1</sup>

There are many subjects on which the addresses contain valuable teaching. If we cannot on all points accept the opinions about the Church which Bishop Moorhouse evidently holds, we think his statements about its visible character admirable. And his experience gives a special significance to his emphatic declaration of the uselessness of the Bible, or even the record of the life of Christ itself, without the Church—

‘Lastly, . . . we may discern the value and necessity of the Church's teaching office in connexion with her missions to the heathen. If it be unquestionable that the chosen people were only able to learn the highest spiritual truth by slow degrees, in many centuries, how can it be reasonable for us to set Christian truth in its completeness before backward races like the negroes and the aborigines of Australia? It would not be reasonable if we merely sent a message without the living Church to explain and embody it. A book is not enough, if even that book could be read. The Bible without the Church would be to the savage, as I proved to myself in Australia, nothing better than an inexplicable enigma. The very life of Christ itself would seem to such men, in a mere report, as contemptible as it was puzzling’ (p. 26).

We have noticed, too, some excellent passages on the place of

<sup>1</sup> We cannot forbear to quote the passage in which it is stated, ‘that in another parish, that of St. Barnabas, there is a very handsome service of Communion plate, costing 100*l.*, which was purchased by a poor woman with a legacy which she unexpectedly received, and which was presented with all the love of her heart to the Church of her dear Lord’ (p. 12).

worship in Christian life. The particular circumstances of his diocese made it necessary for the Bishop to protest against the tendency of 'many' 'young people' to 'look upon the senior Bible class, not as a preparation, but as a substitute, for public worship' (pp. 41, 42). But the value of his teaching of the necessity of worship, his exposition of the Order for Morning Prayer,<sup>1</sup> his recognition that the 'sacrifice of praise' is 'most eminently' made 'in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist'<sup>2</sup> (pp. 43, 44), is independent of locality.

Thoughtful Churchmen will not all agree in their estimate of the Bishop's teaching on the keeping of Sunday. While all who can rightly be so described would, with him, 'permit and encourage the quiet Sunday walk,' and 'recommend the occasional perusal of such secular books as shall not be out of harmony with the spirit and purpose of the day,' different opinions will be held as to the desirability of throwing open 'public galleries and libraries' 'for' the 'use' of 'the poor man' 'at fitting hours' (p. 97). It is not that those who may question what the Bishop says on this point have less sympathy than he has with the needs of 'the poor man,' or see any harm in his being encouraged to look at pictures or read books on Sunday. It is that they see grave practical difficulties in the way of public galleries being kept open permanently on Sunday without still further encroachments on the traditional law of the Church, which protects employes from Sunday work, while it sets them free to perform the obligation of attendance at divine service. Some who are altogether opposed to the prohibition of various amusements and games during the whole of Sunday, do not see their way to advocating the opening of museums. Such Churchmen as we have in view will cordially agree with Bishop Moorhouse's protest against

'rich people, especially the young of those classes, treating the Lord's Day mainly as a day of amusement. For them its sacred exercises, if they ever begin, end after an early morning service. Then comes the boating excursion, or the lawn tennis party, with its gay jests and boisterous mirth, to end with a late and elaborate dinner, which makes public worship for servants impossible. This is a form of Sunday desecration for which no excuse whatever can be made. The classes who practise it have abundant leisure for athletic and noisy amusements on the other days of the week' (pp. 97-8).

Certainly there are good reasons for strenuous opposition to Puritanical views of Sunday, which are without support in Catholic tradition, and have done grievous harm by the gloom they cast over the day and the inevitable reaction which they have provoked. Such opposition comes ill from those who fail to remember that the natural inferences from the continuous practice of the Church require that Christians not only attend divine service themselves, but make it

<sup>1</sup> We think it a pity the Bishop speaks as if he contemplates the habitual substitution of *Jubilate* for *Benedictus* at Morning Prayer; see p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> We could wish this way of regarding the Holy Eucharist had been more fully brought out in the address on 'The Lord's Supper.'

easy for others to do so—not only themselves abstain from some kinds of work, but aim at setting others free from work that is unnecessary.<sup>1</sup>

Like the addresses which deal with worship, that on preaching is coloured by the conditions of the diocese of Manchester. It is not all preachers who have to speak to 'a population so naturally intelligent and so generally well-instructed as that of Lancashire' (p. 112). But here, too, the general principles of what the Bishop says and many details will prove of practical value within wide limits. Parts of the address on catechizing are specially delightful, and may be commended to the careful attention of those who have the happy task of instructing children. On Sunday Schools, on Institutes, on Recreation, on Instruction generally, the Bishop's words convey much wise counsel.

We have by no means mentioned all the parts of this book which we have read with much pleasure and think valuable. But, if we are not to overstep the limits of a 'Short Notice,' we must pass on to direct attention to two matters on which special emphasis is laid, and to point out some features in the Addresses to which we think exception should be taken.

The loss of young people who have begun to be communicants evidently presses much on the Bishop's mind. He refers to it several times in the course of the addresses, and on one occasion in words of special sadness and force :

'In all the glow and freshness of believing youth they pass from this course of happy preparation to the Table of the Lord. In their first, and, it may be, in some subsequent Communion, they give promise of a life of happy piety and loving service. And then, insensibly, but too surely, many of them grow slack in their Communion, become irregular even in their attendance at public worship, and finally are swept out of our sight into the whirlpool of frivolous gaiety which engulfs so many lives in our great cities. These losses would be heart-breaking if habit had not dulled our perception of their meaning and extent.

'But . . . ought we to witness this deterioration of bright young characters, this fatal drawing away of the very life-blood of the Church, without deep searchings of heart as to our own diligence and fidelity?' (p. 67).

As one means of checking this loss he values highly the work of communicants' unions.

The second matter is connected with the first. He several times expresses his opinion that some form of the ancient Agape could be and ought to be restored.

'Would it not,' he says in one place, 'contribute powerfully to break down our well-nigh invincible English shyness and exclusiveness, if, in some form best suited to our modern life, we revived the primitive Agape, or feast of love? We might begin, perhaps, by an annual or half-yearly communicants' festival, to which all should be invited who have ever been communicants in the parish church, and in which the common

<sup>1</sup> It is to be regretted, however, that Bishop Moorhouse allowed himself to use the, in our judgment, misleading expression, 'the Christian Sabbath' (p. 96; cf. pp. 97-8).

meal might be brightened not only by Christian converse, but also by Christian instruction and sacred song. Nothing more surely breaks down the barriers of a cold reserve than the partaking of a common meal and the brotherly familiarity which it encourages. Coldness, want of brotherly sympathy, is at once the weakness and the reproach of our Church' (p. 65).

If it is distasteful to point out what, in our opinion, are blemishes in so excellent a book, it is none the less a duty. We fear the undue depreciation of the ascetics of the early Church (p. 39) in the address on the World is a mark of a line of thought which may be discerned elsewhere. The Eucharistic doctrine is not on all points adequate, and the use of the word 'represents' in the phrase 'this wine represents that life which I have perfected and offered to God for you' (p. 61) is open to grave objection. There is a very unsatisfactory statement about fasting Communion (pp. 68-72) which altogether underrates the evidence for the prevalence of the practice in the early Church and the obligation of Catholic tradition in such a matter. About the Old Testament we need not say more than warn our readers that Bishop Moorhouse enthusiastically accepts critical theories to which this *Review* is known to be earnestly opposed, and express our doubts whether St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. Augustine would have 'welcomed' 'the works of Canon Driver and Professor Robertson Smith' with quite all the 'gratitude' (p. 133) which the Bishop supposes they would have felt.

It is a more congenial task to call attention to the high moral tone, the continual indications of unsparing industry, of splendid grasp, of deep love for our Lord, and the sympathetic touch of these useful and inspiring addresses.

*The Prayer Book considered especially in reference to the Romish System.* Nineteen Sermons preached in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn. And *The Lord's Prayer.* Nine Sermons preached in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn in the months of February, March, and April, 1848. By FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1893.)

THE contents of this book have been published before in more forms than one, but the nine Sermons on the Lord's Prayer are of so great beauty and value, and represent so well the best features of Mr. Maurice's teaching, that we feel justified in recalling them to the minds of our readers. They are full of thoughts of high power, of much insight into deep truth, of tender sympathy with human needs, and their practical usefulness as a means of teaching the place which the Lord's Prayer should fill in the devotions of Christian people is very great. As an instance of the fullness of meaning which Mr. Maurice shows to be included in the various petitions of the Prayer, we may quote one striking passage:

'O strange and mysterious privilege, that some bedridden woman in a lonely garret, who feels that she is tempted to distrust the love and mercy of Him who sent His Son to die for the helpless, should wrestle with that doubt, saying the Lord's Prayer; and that she should be thus

asking help for those who are dwelling in palaces, who scarcely dream of want, yet in their own way are in peril as great as hers; for the student, who in his chamber is haunted with questions which would seem to her monstrous and incredible, but which to him are agonizing; for the divine in his terrible assaults from cowardice, despondency, vanity, from the sense of his own heartlessness, from the shame of past neglect, from the appalling discovery of evils in himself which he has denounced in others, from vulgar outward temptations into which he had proudly fancied that he could not fall, from dark suggestions recurring often, that words have no realities corresponding to them, that what he speaks may mean nothing because to him it has often meant so little. Of all this the sufferer knows nothing, yet for these she prays—and for the statesman who fancied the world could be moved by his wires, and suddenly finds that it has wires of its own which move without his bidding; for her country under the pressure of calamities which the most skilful seek in vain to redress; for all other countries in their throes of anguish which may terminate in a second death or a new life. For one and all she cries, "Lead us not into temptation." Their temptations and hers, different in form, are the same in substance. They, like her, are tempted to doubt that God is, and that He is the Author of good, and not of evil; and that He is mightier than the evil; and that He can and will overthrow it, and deliver the universe out of it' (pp. 372-3).

We cannot help regretting that the exigencies of a series have led the publishers to issue these helpful sermons in the same volume with those on *The Prayer Book*. The latter contain beautiful thoughts and a sympathetic handling of interesting topics, but they are full also of strange confusions and much controversial bitterness, and must be painful to many who would find those on *The Lord's Prayer* valuable. Moreover, as they stand first in the book, it is not unlikely they will deter some readers from reaching its most important part.

*Pater Noster. Addresses on the Lord's Prayer.* By W. J. SPARROW SIMPSON, M.A., Vicar of St. Mark's, Regent's Park. (London: J. Masters and Co., 1893.)

THESE addresses are marked by soberness of thought, quiet dignity of language, and spiritual power. In the preface the author acknowledges 'his indebtedness to patristic sources for many explanations which these pages contain,' and we have recognized the influence of the Fathers not only in some particular interpretations and statements, but also in the general tone which pervades the volume. For real devotional helpfulness we are inclined to place it high among the very many books which have been written upon the Lord's Prayer.

Those of our readers who have not seen the addresses will thank us for quoting three passages which illustrate Mr. Sparrow Simpson's loyalty to the teaching of Holy Scripture and of the Church, his true sense of the bearing of a right belief on human life, and his freedom from very dangerous ways of treating the words of our Lord:

'If Christ said, "when ye pray," He said also, "when ye fast." From the same sacred lips came the bidding, "Say, Our Father," and, "Do



this in remembrance of Me." Doubts have been at times expressed whether some of our Lord's commands were not temporary, and others abiding; some intended for the Apostles personally, some for Christendom at large. Upon such questions the final decision will surely be found in the practice of the Universal Church. How has Christendom, from the beginning, understood her Lord's commands? This will be the safest guide for the Christian individual of to-day. We do not take our Lord's words "When ye pray, say, Our Father," and, isolating them from the Christian centuries, inquire whether these words were addressed to the Apostles alone, or whether they apply also to me. We do not ignore the eighteen hundred years during which the Catholic Church has placed her practical interpretations on the language of Jesus Christ. We repeat the prayer, we approach the Altar, not merely because the two sayings were spoken to twelve men by Christ in Palestine in the days of Pontius Pilate, but chiefly because Christendom has ever understood the binding nature of both commands' (pp. 8, 9).

'If a nation has low and mean ideas of God, you will not look to that nation for any exalted standard of individual perfection. If a nation clothes its God in the attributes of arbitrariness and capricious tyranny, that nation will scarcely possess any adequate conceptions of gentle forbearance and tenderness. If a nation does not ascribe to its divinity the love of purity, absolute justice, self-sacrifice, and truth, how can the worshipper be expected to labour for virtues in which the very object of his worship is himself deficient? Thus, a nation's ideas of God react upon life' (p. 39).

'It is literally impossible, with any regard for the Bible, to eliminate its teaching on the personality of Satan. Scripture is perfectly clear, from Genesis to the Apocalypse, that there are such persons as evil angels. Scripture places in close and frequent contact with human life the active endeavours of personal evil agencies. This is inseparably interwoven into the account of the first human trial. It enters with equal conspicuousness into the temptation of Jesus Christ. Satan's existence, activity, malignity, are everywhere asserted or assumed in Holy Scripture. This is not merely a doctrine of the Old Testament, it appears just as forcibly in the New. It occurs in our Lord's own life and experience. It forms a subject of our Lord's most solemn warnings and admonitions. This fact to the Christian mind is by itself conclusive. That our Lord by any process of "accommodation" to Oriental prejudice should have inculcated tremendous moral truths upon a spiritual basis which He knew to be false, is utterly abhorrent to the moral sense, and destructive to the claims of His Divinity' (pp. 136-7).

*The Lord's Prayer.* Sermons preached in Westminster Abbey. By FREDERIC W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S., Archdeacon of Westminster, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen and to the Speaker of the House of Commons. (London: Isbister and Co., 1893.)

THE chief thought which these sermons leave in our mind is that of wasted power. The large majority of the evils which Archdeacon Farrar denounces are real evils of a very terrible kind. His power of indignation, his ease in writing, his wide reading and ready use of apt illustrations might have enabled him to preach very useful sermons, rebuking sin and exhorting to righteousness. The volume is not without fine passages; as a whole we think it a failure. Our complaint is not that it is written from a theological standpoint

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different from our own, or that the opinions of the preacher on many subjects are different from ours. We should be as narrow-minded as the Archdeacon of Westminster himself in some respects is if we thought that simple and useful religious teaching on practical subjects could not be given by one who, though widely disagreeing with ourselves, holds in common with us the central verities of the Christian Faith. While we are of opinion that a preacher who declares that 'religion does not mean, and has little to do with,' 'orthodoxy' or 'membership' in any particular 'organisation' (p. 11), and thereby shows his forgetfulness both of the help which a true creed and valid sacraments afford to right conduct and of the fact that the acceptance of a particular belief, or the adoption of a particular practice, may often be the test of earnestness and real obedience to conscience, deprives himself of the ability to treat many moral questions fruitfully, we should have been prepared to listen to much which he has to say on such subjects as truthfulness, and honesty, and justice. What we do complain of is the extravagance of language, the apparent absence of any attempt to understand the real position of those whose opinions and practices he dislikes, the want of taste, and, we are obliged to add, of charity. One of the saddest aspects of such preaching is that the features we have mentioned greatly narrow the possibility of what might be useful doing good. We ourselves have the greatest dread of a devotion that is merely mechanical, but we hardly think that any 'ignorant Romanist' will be led to more careful thought or greater reality because his prayers have been called 'fooleries,' or 'mere stuttering,' or 'the tumbling out of empty words,' or compared with the 'clatter' of the 'prayer mill' of the 'Tartar' (p. 18). We do not, we hope, under-rate the importance of arousing English Churchmen to more earnest struggle against vice, and dishonesty, and violence, and luxury, but we do not think it likely that they will be so moved by being called 'the nominal Church,' or by its being said that there are 'few saints among her professors,' though 'the name of saint' is 'bandied among one another by her partisans' (p. 63). And the Archdeacon's indignant refusal to 'say smooth things and prophesy deceits,' to 'daub tottering walls with untempered mortar,' or 'to quail before the hatred which comes from the supporters of vice and the votaries of error' (p. 64), seems to us to have been written in a strange forgetfulness of the many earnest calls to a real and deep religious life which are heard among us at the present time. Nor are such passages injurious only to the effect of the true side of what is connected with them; they stick in the mind and are likely to increase the party bitterness of those who agree, and to make others unresponsive of much good advice which Archdeacon Farrar has to give. When we think of the deep and simple lessons, about the truth and need of most of which earnest and devout Churchmen would be agreed, which may be derived from the words of our Lord's wonderful prayer, we can only grieve that the Archdeacon should have wasted opportunities so golden as those which the large congregations he is able to address afford.

*The 'Our Father.'* By ALBAN STOLZ. Translated and abridged from the fifteenth German edition by J. C. H. H.-E. (London: Masters and Co., 1893.)

THE quaint, homely teaching of this book has much quiet force. It consists of simple words, more like talks than a book, on the various parts of the Lord's Prayer. Its practical character and high spiritual tone should make it welcome to many as a devotional help, and it will be found to be suggestive and penetrating. It is full of stories which are really illustrative. As an instance of its practical advice we may quote the following extract from a passage on almsgiving:—

'In many cases more good can be done by laying out a sum of money all at once than if it is spread out over months or years. Suppose you give away a few shillings every month in pence or sixpences. In three years this would come, perhaps, to five pounds. And by giving it in this scattered way you have not done much good with it; only perhaps supplied a few people every month with a loaf or two, or a few glasses of beer. The money is soon eaten or drunk or smoked away. Instead of this go and pick out a boy belonging to some poor family, who eats a great deal and can do nothing but mind the cows, and have him taught an honest trade with your three years' charitable outlay. . . . It is better to use your money to save a poor family's last cow or goat than to crumble it away amongst people who make a great outcry about their poverty when often it is not so very bad after all' (pp. 93-4).

We are not acquainted with the German work, and cannot ourselves express any opinion as to the accuracy of the translation, but Mr. Russell, of St. Alban's, Holborn, who has written a preface, says that, where he has tested it, it seems to him 'well done and at times singularly happy in its English equivalent for a German idiom' (Preface, p. viii). Some passages, we learn, have been omitted because they would have been unintelligible 'to the simple English reader' 'without long foot-notes,' and there are also omissions 'of controversial matter.' Mr. Russell mentions that he is not responsible for any of these omissions (*ibid.*).

The preface tells us a little about the personal history of the writer. He was born in 1808 at Bühl, in Baden, matriculated at Heidelberg in 1830, and was ordained priest in 1833 from the seminary at Freiburg. In his later years he was Professor of Pastoral Theology in the University at Freiburg. Mr. Russell mentions a visit paid to him in 1882, one year before his death.

'I found him in his study, a little shrivelled old man, with spacious forehead and strong, resolute mouth, coiled up in a low chair, dictating to a Sister of Charity, who sat at his study table. He had for some time past lost the power of writing, and indeed of reading, so that, by special dispensation, he was allowed to say the same Mass every day—a Mass he knew by heart. But his brain was as clear and active as ever. . . . Next year he passed to the rest which in his inmost heart he had sighed for so long. The Catholic Church in Germany lost a valiant soldier and a zealous apostle in his death; and many who knew him only by his writings mourned for him as a personal friend. Those writings remain and will do good' (Preface, p. viii).

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*The Doctrine and Discipline of Holy Church.* A Series of Brief Readings or Instructions based upon the Teaching of the Church Universal. By the Rev. HENRY PATRICK RUSSELL, Vicar of St. Stephen's, Devonport, formerly Rector of Mary Tavy, Devon. (London : Skeffington and Son, 1893.)

THIS book contains clear and accurate teaching of the rudiments of the Christian Faith. The aim of its author is evidently to instruct those who accept the general principle of the authority of the Universal Church and desire to know what the Church teaches. Consequently it is dogmatic rather than apologetic. It states truth clearly; it does not profess to defend it. We believe that Mr. Russell's work will prove valuable to those for whom it is intended, and cordially echo the words of the short note which the Warden of Keble has prefixed :—

'It seems clear that such little treatises on Christian doctrine must, of necessity, be useful for the instruction of Church people in the Faith (p. vi).

We may draw special attention to the admirable accuracy of the chapter on the Incarnation and, as indicative of the writer's standpoint, may quote his statement about the knowledge of our Lord.

'So did He possess also true human knowledge, as distinct from that which belonged to Him as God—human knowledge which He acquired, as we do, experimentally; though in Him was no ignorance which had to be removed by instruction or experience' (p. 63).

In a very few places Mr. Russell writes with perhaps somewhat more definiteness than is warranted by any quite clear judgment of the whole Church. It is our own belief that 'infants dying without Baptism' 'enjoy' 'natural happiness,' but we could not assert this so precisely as he does, even with the addition of the phrase 'according to the belief now generally received' (p. 49). We do not quarrel with the statement that God 'gives to the very heathen, for the merits of Christ, grace in real sufficiency for their ultimate salvation' (p. 138) in itself, but we doubt whether there is place in such a treatise as that before us for any assertions except those declared in the Bible or by the Church. There is too great definiteness about the teaching that 'the souls of the Saints of the old covenant' ascended to Heaven with our Lord (pp. 96-7). But while we take exception to the author's method of statement in these and a very few other instances, we are thankful to notice that, though he himself accepts the Scotist hypothesis about the Incarnation, and thinks it possible there are many races of rational creatures besides the angels and men, he is careful to speak of both of these opinions as theories only (pp. 52, 60-1, 74-5). We do not quite like the word 'hear' in the phrases 'the Saints hear us,' 'the Saints hear our prayers' (pp. 129-30), and should have preferred 'know of our prayers' or some similar expression. And, to criticise another small point, it is hardly correct to speak of 'the word "God" in the singular' (p. 21) with reference to Genesis i. 26; whatever the reason, אֱלֹהִים is certainly a plural form, and the contrast which Mr. Russell's

argument requires should be, not as he states it, but between the singular verb *אָמַר* and the plural noun *אֱלֹהִים* and verb *נִשְׁמָע* and suffix *וְ*.

We have pointed out these matters because, in our opinion, they mar a book which is calculated to be most useful to learners and to the less theologically trained of those who have to instruct others, and which is based on the thoroughly sound principle that 'the Holy Ghost speaks by the *whole* Church, not by a part; He speaks by *Catholic consent*' (p. 121).

*Skeleton Sermons for the Sundays and Holidays in the Year.* By JOHN B. BAGSHAWE, D.D., Canon Penitentiary of Southwark. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co., 1893.)

CANON BAGSHAWE has prefixed to his *Skeleton Sermons* a needed warning:—

'Neither these nor any other sketches can be of much use to a preacher unless he makes the points his own, so that they may have the impress of his own mind upon them' (Preface, p. vii).

When this fact is remembered, books of this kind may be useful in affording suggestions to hard-worked preachers, and the present volume has merits. It requires caution if used by clergy of our own branch of the Church, because it presupposes the whole doctrinal system of Rome and the devotional use of seasons, such as the month of May, common among Roman Catholics, but, with such caution, many of them may find it helpful. Subject to the same caution, Canon Bagshawe's anticipation that

'these Sermons may, perhaps, also be useful to some people in making their Meditations' (Preface, p. viii)

may be realised. For both purposes it is a valuable feature that much reference is made to Holy Scripture. Here again some care is needed, for the interpretations adopted are not quite always such as can be satisfactorily defended. In the large majority of cases, however, the use of the Bible is just what is to be desired. The subjects of the Sermons are of the most varied kinds, as is shown by the following titles, which we select as instances: 'The Holy Name,' 'Conscience,' 'Religion in Daily Life,' 'Temptation,' 'Patronage of St. Joseph,' 'The Word of God,' 'The Unjust Steward,' 'The Assumption,' 'Observance of Sunday,' 'Charity,' 'The Rosary,' 'The Holy Souls.'

*A History of the Roman Empire, from its Foundation to the Death of Marcus Aurelius.* By J. B. BURY, M.A., Professor of Modern History, Trinity College, Dublin. (London: John Murray, 1893).

PROBABLY no period has had so much light thrown upon its history by the investigations of modern research as that which includes the rise of the Roman Empire. Inscriptions have been sought out, collected, and digested; the literary evidence has been not merely

reproduced, but criticised and tested by the help of the newly discovered facts ; and the inquiry has spread away from the capital of the Empire to its remotest provinces. Under the guidance of Mommsen and his school of historians the centre of history has been shifted from Rome to the provinces, and thereby the true importance of the period has been revealed, which consisted, not in the palace intrigues and social scandals which surrounded the persons of the emperors, but in the organisation and the administration of the Roman world. The justice of this view has been recognized as freely in England as in Germany, but there has hitherto been no handbook by which schoolboys, and even more advanced students, might be taught to read this period of history in accordance with the newest lights. It was an excellent thought, therefore, on the part of Messrs. Murray to fill up the gap which has hitherto been left between 'The Student's Rome' and 'The Student's Gibbon,' and they made a good choice when they invited Mr. Bury to undertake the task. The result is a book which is full of value for students of all classes, and which will be even more used as a handbook at the Universities than at the public schools. The reader may sometimes regret that Mr. Bury was not working in freedom from the restrictions laid upon him by the necessity of adapting his book to the size and character of a series ; but there is no doubt that he has produced a most valuable handbook, and one which would have been simply impossible twenty or thirty years ago.

Mr. Bury rightly begins with a careful study of the constitutional theory of the Empire, or, as he prefers to call it in this early stage, the Principate. Only through a clear comprehension of political theory and constitutional law can the course of Roman history be properly comprehended ; and it is as well to emphasise this principle at once, and to lay a firm foundation for the whole work on these lines, even at the cost of making these early chapters rather stiff reading for schoolboys. The state of the provinces is also described at length, and is illustrated by two useful maps. The reader ought, therefore, to have no difficulty in obtaining a clear comprehension of the character of the Empire at the outset, which alone will make the study of the rest of the history interesting and profitable. With Tacitus and Suetonius before us it is inevitable that a history of the period should contain much of personal detail concerning the emperors and their families ; but Mr. Bury is careful to devote many chapters to the history of the provinces, especially Britain, as well as to that of literature and art, ending with a chapter on life and manners, naturally derived in large measure from Juvenal and Martial. Within the scope of a volume of this size and plan there is not much room for independent research ; but Professor Bury has studied the original authorities for himself, and shows both knowledge and judgment in his use of them.

On some points it is inevitable that there should be differences of opinion, and there are a few details to which we should take exception. After the work of Lightfoot and Ramsay on the subject a fuller treatment of the relations between the Roman Empire and the



Christian Church would have been possible and desirable. At present this seems to us the weakest side of Mr. Bury's work. Thus, in discussing Trajan's instructions to Pliny, he says, 'The great significance of Trajan's rescript is that it affirmed clearly the attitude of the Roman government to Christianity, and laid down a principle which set Christians outside the pale of the law' (p. 448). The last statement is misleading. Trajan laid down no new principle; Mr. Bury himself says elsewhere that the principle was probably laid down by Domitian (p. 578). The significance of his rescript lay in the mitigation, illogical in theory but beneficial in practice, of a principle already laid down. Just as Mr. Bury appears to disregard Professor Ramsay's book here, so he shows a curious want of acquaintance with, or respect for, Bishop Lightfoot's work when he says that the martyrdom of Polycarp occurred 'almost certainly' under Marcus Aurelius (p. 579), and when he expresses complete uncertainty as to the genuineness of the Letters of Ignatius (p. 456). Some readers will dissent from his opinion that Lucan 'has not a spark of genius' (p. 463); and the date assigned to Calpurnius, as writing under Nero (p. 464), is at least questionable. There is certainly a stroke of humour in describing Petronius as 'quite devoid of any moral tendency' (p. 465). Among minor details it may be noted that Marcus, as well as Verus, bore the titles 'Armeniacus Parthicus Maximus Medicus' (p. 541); 'egregia,' in the note on p. 461, is a misprint for 'egregias'; and it is a little unfortunate that, in a passage calling special attention to the proper spelling of Virgil's name (p. 151), it should appear as 'Vergillius,' a form which would make havoc of the scansion of certain lines in Horace. Probably, however, this aberration is due to the same hand as the 'Quintillian' at the top of p. 469. These, however, are trifles, only worth notice in view of the future editions which will undoubtedly be required; and we would prefer to end this criticism by congratulating the new Professor of Modern History at Dublin on a work of real value to all students in this field, and of great importance for historical education in our schools and Universities.

*The Story of the Nations: Parthia.* By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., F.R.G.S. (London and New York: Unwin and Putnam's Sons, 1893.)

THE history of Parthia forms, during a great part of its course, the companion picture to that presented in Mr. Bury's volume, just described. From the time of Sulla to that of Caracalla (whom Canon Rawlinson persists in calling Caracallus) Parthia was the one power which dealt with Rome on terms approaching equality. Equal in size, in strength, in importance, it certainly was not; but it was an independent power which was able to make itself respected by force of arms, and, after the defeat of Crassus, Roman opinion assigned to it a formidable character even in excess of the truth. The elements of that power are a little difficult to analyze. Their methods of warfare were primitive; their courage was of the uncivilised order which finds no shame in flight; their generals never

showed the smallest evidence of great military ability. In spite of this they baffled invasion after invasion of Roman armies ; and succeeded in maintaining some sort of hold on the standing bone of dispute, the buffer state of Armenia, even to the end. No Roman general came out of a campaign against them with untarnished credit, except Avidius Cassius, and, to a lesser extent, Corbulo. One main cause of their successes was the great size of the field of campaign, and the elasticity of the system of defence. Roman strategy was never, except in the hands of Cæsar, equal to Roman tactics, and the Parthians avoided regular actions as far as possible. Canon Rawlinson aptly compares their strategy to that of the Russians in the campaign of 1812 ; and its effects, though less seconded by the weather, were much the same.

Apart from the contests with Rome, we know little of Parthian history, and it has few elements of interest. Perhaps no power which has held so wide an empire for so long a time has left so little mark on the world's history. It set a bound to the Roman empire, and that is all. The Parthians had no literature and very little art. Their coins are formed on Greek models, and were probably executed by some of the Greeks who thronged many of the cities, notably Seleucia. Their architecture, such as there is of it, is more peculiar than beautiful or practically convenient. They had no jurisprudence that we know of, and no organized system of government that has left any mark. They have not even left behind any certain evidence of their race. Canon Rawlinson holds them to have been Turanian ; Mr. Bury calls them Iranian, and speaks of them as essentially identical with the Persians against whom Miltiades and Alexander fought. Their history, so far as we can discern it, consists of a succession of more or less tyrannical kings, continually assailed by powerful subjects, now because they show too much Roman culture, now because they have made themselves feared through their undiluted native cruelty.

With this unpromising material Canon Rawlinson has dealt as effectively as can be expected. The narrative is clear, if somewhat monotonous, and the work of gathering up the scanty evidences of Parthian history has been thoroughly done. Enthusiasm on such a subject was hardly to be expected ; but those who care to learn how a great portion of the inhabited world was governed during a period of five hundred years will find in this volume a useful guide. Handbooks are sometimes condemned, as diverting readers from the study of larger and more thorough works. That criticism cannot be made in this instance. Few readers of this book would be likely to have made deep researches into Parthian history ; many will learn something of that history from it which otherwise they would not have learnt at all.

*Studies by a Recluse in Cloister, Town, and Country.* By AUGUSTUS JESSOPP, D.D. (London : Fisher Unwin, 1893.)

DR. JESSOPP'S new volume is not absolutely new, being a collection of magazine articles and lectures, but several of them deserve this

second lease of life. It is hardly necessary to say that their subjects are historical, and that the history relates to the Middle Ages. Dr. Jessopp expressly pleads that he is not an historian, but 'a poacher in Clio's wide domains.' He may be right, but he certainly has the saving gift of enthusiasm, which makes him invaluable as a means of spreading an interest in history; and we are therefore glad to find him expressing the determination to go on poaching as long as he can crawl. The best of the papers in this volume is that on St. Albans and her historian, Matthew Paris. Very few people are aware of the fulness of life and interest with which this great chronicler abounds—as far as possible from the prosaic dryness which the phrase 'mediaeval chronicle' would generally suggest. Dr. Jessopp gives a lively picture of Matthew in his surroundings, the great abbey of St. Albans, and we would echo his wish that some means could be found of making his work and that of the other chroniclers more generally known than they can ever be through the excellent but scarcely popular volumes of the Rolls Series. The lecture on Bury St. Edmunds is a little disappointing; the subject is too large to be dealt with satisfactorily in so small a space. Indeed, the lectures as a rule, though no doubt admirable as lectures, are inferior in value to the articles. Their colloquialism jars a little in the printed page. Still there is not much real ground for complaint. In Dr. Jessopp's hands one is always safe to be interested, and readers will gather fruitful suggestions on the history of the land, or of the English towns or the Norfolk abbeys, and other kindred subjects. The volume ends with a plea for the fuller study of the history of our own country. Dr. Jessopp is full of admiration for the Oxford school of historians, and believes that the interest in history has genuinely spread of late years; and he urges that this 'hunger for bread rather than for ashes' should be gratified by an extension of the channels of instruction, whether by the use of the County Council education funds or by lectures from local antiquaries. His own experience of such lectures, given in the first instance impromptu in his own church on a wet day after service, is eminently satisfactory and encouraging; but not every one can lecture like Dr. Jessopp. Meanwhile is not the University Extension lecturer abroad in the land?

*The English Religious Drama.* By KATHARINE LEE BATES, Wellesley College. (New York and London: Macmillan and Co., 1893.)

PROBABLY every one who knows anything of the history of the English drama is aware that its earliest manifestations were in the form of 'miracle plays,' or representations of scenes selected from the Bible; but not every one is likely to have had the wish or the opportunity to ascertain more fully the nature of these representations. The subject belongs rather to the domain of the specialist; yet the general reader may feel some interest in it, and may be glad to have some account of these curious relics of our early literature. It is the object of Miss Bates's volume, which is composed of a

course of lectures delivered in America, to give such an account ; and though the reader may think the opening pages somewhat flowery in style, if he proceeds further he will find a very good and careful study of the subject, which will interest without wearying him. Miss Bates begins with the Passion plays and saint plays, which were merely concrete representations in church of the events of the Passion and Resurrection, or of the lives of saints, set forth on the occasions of the various festivals of the Church. These developed easily and naturally into the miracle plays, in which the subjects were still taken from the Bible narrative, but the representations were transferred from the church to movable stages out of doors, and the scenes themselves, instead of being confined mainly to the Passion, embraced the whole range from the Creation to the Day of Judgment. Successive scenes of this history were formed into cycles, each of which had some special local centre. Of such cycles we still possess four in England, more or less complete—the York plays, the Towneley or Woodkirk plays, the Chester plays, and the Coventry plays—besides several detached scenes from various parts of the country. They are written in doggerel verse, and are amplified from the Bible narratives, especially by the addition of comic or semi-comic scenes, which in all the cycles follow the same broad traditional lines. Miss Bates gives a fresh and lively description of several scenes from each of these cycles, with copious quotations, which enable the reader to check her conclusions for himself. For complete scenes the reader can go on to Mr. Pollard's *English Miracle Plays*, or, if his appetite is still unsated, to the editions of the entire cycles by Miss Toulmin Smith, Mr. Stevenson, and others.

We have found the book interesting, and think others would do so too. Miss Bates is not uncritical in her enjoyment of the miracle plays, as students of the remoter provinces of literature are apt to be in respect of their special hobby of the moment. With the dulness of the 'Moralities' in particular, which succeeded to the miracle plays, she is fully impressed. Perhaps at times she makes a little too much of the dramatic ability shown in these early efforts. In point of fact the dramatic interest in these plays is almost entirely that which is already inherent in the Bible narratives, and the playwright has done little but roughly versify and amplify it. The Elizabethan drama owes little to the miracle plays, except the creation of a national habit of looking at dramatic exhibitions. The special interest in the miracle plays themselves is not so much dramatic as historical. They illustrate the national life and the tastes of the common people during a period the customs of which have more and more become a subject of interest as historians have turned their attention away from wars and the higher politics to the inner life of the nation. We feel that we gain some sympathy with the thoughts of our ancestors of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as we read the text of these popular amusements, and at the same time we see the growing love of theatrical exhibitions, which leads up to the outburst of a national drama in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

*Medieval Records and Sonnets.* By AUBREY DE VERE. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1893.)

MR. AUBREY DE VERE'S new volume is a sequel to his *Legends and Records of the Church and the Empire*, and it aims at recording in verse the thoughts and ideas which animated the Middle Ages. Perhaps it is true that this is not the way in which the greatest poetry is brought into being. The great poet does not resolve to illustrate a certain period by his verse, though such illustration may actually be the result of his work. He chooses his subject primarily for the poetry which he sees in it, not that he may make others learn an historical truth. Shakespeare has made scenes of Roman history live for us ; but it is in virtue of his marvellous sympathy with all human nature that he does so. Browning has represented certain aspects of mediæval life with a vividness far exceeding that of Mr. Aubrey de Vere ; but it was not to illustrate mediæval life that he wrote *Fra Lippo Lippi* or *The Bishop orders his Tomb in St. Praxed's Church*. Mr. Aubrey de Vere's poems, however, though they are not masterpieces of creation, as are these, have yet the great merit of genuine sympathy with a subject which, at least to us who look back at it across several centuries, is full of poetry. The Middle Ages were unconscious of the imaginativeness which was one of their great characteristics, the romance of which gains by the contrast which our modern life presents to it. Mr. de Vere has tried, and with a fair measure of success, to bring out the chivalry, the earnest religious feelings, the sense of high ideals, which animated the noblest characters of those ages. The Cid, Joan of Arc, Queen Bertha, Columbus, Copernicus, are not unfamiliar as subjects of poetry, and in some cases the comparisons which inevitably suggest themselves, as with the ballads of the Cid and the Bruce's heart, are unfavourable to the later poet. On the whole Mr. Aubrey de Vere is more satisfactory when he is on less familiar ground. *The Infant Bridal*, *The Higher Purgatory* (based on the writings of St. Catharine of Genoa), and the hymn on *The Feast of St. Peter's Chair at Rome* are better examples of his unquestionable gifts of poetry. The sonnets which conclude the volume have a more modern interest, since they relate chiefly to the great dead of the last few years, Browning, Newman, Father Damien, Tennyson. They are fine testimonies to great men ; but we protest against the statement that Browning did not sing 'haunts endeared to lovers.' Dozens of exquisite love-poems refute this misjudgment at once. To name one only, has Mr. Aubrey de Vere forgotten *By the Fireside* ?

*An Inquiry into the Truth of Dogmatic Christianity, comprising a Discussion with a Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church.* By WILLIAM DEARING HARDEN. (New York and London : G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893.)

THE history of this book, as related in the preface, is not without interest. 'Some time ago' the author was 'engaged in a friendly controversy on religious topics, running in a rather desultory way

through several years, with a Bishop (since Archbishop) of the Roman Catholic Church' (Preface, p. v). The present volume contains the substance of the controversy, a considerable part of the Bishop's arguments being given in his own words.

Mr. Harden brings a formidable indictment against Christianity. Using the 'term "Church"' to 'mean Dogmatic Christianity in any of its phases, Catholic or Protestant,' he states the following propositions as embodying the standpoint of his book :

'I. The Church has exerted, and still exerts, a baleful influence upon mankind : (a) by discouraging the study of nature and suppressing the use of reason, thereby checking progress and retarding civilization ; and, (b) by insisting that belief is necessary to salvation, thereby driving many to despair and ruin ; and man's physical, mental, and spiritual advance has been, and must be, through scepticism and freethought, and in spite—and not because—of the Church.

'II. The doctrine of free-will, as usually understood and as taught by the Church, is impossible if God be as He is represented. Attributing the origin of sin to man is absurd ; and the idea of a continual strife between God and the Devil is blasphemous.

'III. The Councils of the Church by which her Creeds were formulated were not inspired, but very fallible, assemblies of exceedingly natural men ; and their decrees are conflicting, unreasonable, and utterly without authority.

'IV. Jesus of Nazareth was not God, nor the son, in the sense of offspring, of God ; He never claimed to be either, nor did others claim it for Him until long after His death ; and during His life He never sought or received divine honours. He taught no new ethics ; and the ethics of many of the "Pagans" were superior to those of the Jews, and equal to those of the Church.

'V. If Jesus of Nazareth was God, He could not have been betrayed, and Judas Iscariot was but a helpless instrument in the hands of Omnipotence ; if Judas was a traitor, Jesus was not God : and the doctrine of free-will does not relieve us from the dilemma, for the attempt to reconcile free-will with the attributes of God results only in attacking His absolute supremacy.

'VI. The Bible is not a divinely inspired book ; and being untrustworthy as to its facts cannot be relied on as infallible as to its theories.

'VII. Arguments directed especially against the Roman Catholic form of orthodoxy :—Saying masses for the dead—for a pecuniary consideration—is either obtaining money under false pretences, or is selling the grace of God. If repentance and confession are necessary to and will secure salvation, charity and other good works cannot affect our future condition—unless the forgiveness of God can be bought ; and the Church practising the one and teaching the other is in error and not infallible' (pp. 7-9).

It is not too much to say that Mr. Harden has formed an entire misconception of the Christian religion. He has not the faintest idea of the real meaning of the doctrine of the Trinity or of the Incarnation. He has evidently never come near to understanding what either Anglicans or Roman Catholics mean by the teaching office of the Church. On all these subjects he might learn much if he would set himself to study patiently and humbly any orthodox elementary work. And from the quotations he gives from the replies the 'Bishop



of the Roman Catholic Church' addressed to him, we gather that the Bishop, weighted though he was with specifically Roman opinions, had much the best of the controversy.

Nevertheless, the book is not without significance for Christians. It represents a state of mind, only too common, which looks upon the Church as having been the great enemy of human thought and progress, and as stained with many dark crimes. Mr. Harden's argument is full of exaggerations, but the fact that Christians have often so poorly followed the laws and example of Christ gives it such power as it possesses, and it may well suggest a warning to Churchmen of the danger of any want of sympathy on their part with right aspirations or of allowing personal religious life to be thought of less importance than doctrinal orthodoxy.

*The Greatest Thing in the World, and other Addresses.* By HENRY DRUMMOND. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1894.)

THE addresses, which are here collected in one volume, have been published separately before and have had a very wide circulation. Many admirers of Professor Drummond will be glad to have them in their present form. They contain much that is well and clearly expressed, they are always interesting, and in moral matters their tendency is wholly in a right direction. The emphasis on the necessity of a Christian's life being inwardly strong in its relation to Christ, and on the duty of Christians in work that is not called religious in the narrower sense, is of value. There is much besides that may be helpful to many, and the popularity of Professor Drummond's writings probably means that they are useful as well as attractive.

There are two ways in which we think the addresses call for criticism. The first is the somewhat irritating manner in which the author always assumes that he is teaching new truth. This was, we remember, a noticeable feature in his *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*. He seems to be under the impression that views of the duties of Christians, and of the place of Christianity in life, and of its relation to much in nature, which have been familiar and valued and practical beliefs of representative teachers of Catholic Christianity, have never occurred to anyone before himself. It is a pity that so unpleasant a feature should mar writings that are valuable.

Moreover, if Christianity is to influence the whole life of man and to exert its power in society as a whole, it will not be a Christianity that is individualistic. The settled forms of Christian belief and the organised methods of Christian practice which Professor Drummond is so anxious to set aside and thinks to have been so useless, will be found to be necessary to support a work such as he contemplates. The belief in the Church as a visible society, with an ordered constitution and historical methods of working, is not only necessitated by the work of Christ and by Christian history; it affords the best ground for a conviction that Christianity can grapple with the problems of modern life.

*Readings on the 'Inferno' of Dante, chiefly based on the Commentary of Benvenuto da Imola.* By the Hon. WILLIAM WARREN VERNON, M.A. With an Introduction by the Rev. EDWARD MOORE, D.D., Principal of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1894.)

EXCELLENT and valuable as we consider this work to be, we cannot but express our regret that it was not compressed within more moderate limits. Its two volumes, albeit in small octavo, are of portentous thickness, and contain between them twelve hundred and seventy pages. Anyone who reflects that they are devoted to a single Cantica of Dante's immortal poem, that they have been preceded by two similar volumes dealing with the *Purgatorio*—a no doubt bulkier second edition of which is in course of preparation—and that the author announces his intention of preparing still more volumes treating of the *Paradiso*—will, we think, be inclined to exclaim—

'Vedi oramai quant' esser dee quel tutto  
Ch' a così fatte parti si confaccia.'<sup>1</sup>

That is, to cite Mr. Vernon's excellent translation, 'Now mark how vast must be that whole which can correspond to parts of it of such proportions.' That Mr. Vernon himself is fully alive to the evils of prolixity is evident from his statement in the preface that 'the ordinary reader may feel repelled at the enormous bulk of Benvenuto's Commentary (in five large volumes), of which' he has 'endeavoured to give the pith and substance.' But of those five volumes two only are concerned with the *Inferno*; and, therefore, it is their pith and substance only which Mr. Vernon gives. We venture to doubt whether it was worth while to put so much of the cargo of the worthy old Imolese on board his own vessel. Useful as are the historical elucidations of Benvenuto, his moral reflexions and over-wrought solutions of the allegorical meanings which he evolves from the plain statements or matter-of-fact allusions of the poet appear to us—and we have read him through from beginning to end—often far-fetched, and not such as to commend themselves to a modern reader as implicitly reliable. There is also much, very much, in the Lectures read by the erudite old hosier Gelli at Florence before the brand-new *marchesi*, senators, and courtiers of Duke Cosimo de' Medici who composed the academy in that city in the age of Leo X., which in discursiveness far exceeds the legitimate functions of a commentator. Take as an instance his disquisition in the fourth *Lezione* of his first *Lettura* (i. 69-72), upon the nature of sleep; the physical causes which produce it; its necessity to health; the extent to which it should be indulged in; how children, dwarfs, and persons of slender and puny veins may be allowed more of it than others; and how, dreams notwithstanding, the operation of the senses is wholly arrested during its continuance. This disquisition, which occupies three complete pages, is based upon Dante's simple statement, in *Inf.* i. 11, that he was profoundly asleep when

<sup>1</sup> *Inf.* xxxiv. 32, 33.

he entered the dreadful wood. It will help the reader to understand how Gelli manages to fill two thick volumes in large octavo with discourses on no more of the *Divina Commedia* than the first twenty-six cantos of the *Inferno*, the sixteenth and twenty-sixth of the *Purgatorio*, and the twenty-sixth of the *Paradiso*. The book is rather one for reference than for copious citation, and valuable for its occasional philosophical expositions—the knowledge of Plato and Aristotle being especially remarkable in one who, like Dante himself, was ignorant of Greek—rather than for the gossiping observations of which it is so full. We doubt, therefore, whether Mr. Vernon was well advised in piling as it were Ossa upon Pelion by superadding so much of Gelli's talk to that of Benvenuto. In any case surely such an excerpt as the following might have been omitted. After translating the lines (*Inf.* xxiii. 37–42) in which Dante compares Virgil's act, in snatching him up in his arms and carrying him safely off from the Malebranche, to the care of a mother who, awakened by the sound of flames, flees with her son, whom she seizes without waiting even to put on her clothes, Mr. Vernon thus proceeds:—

'Both Benvenuto and Gelli in commenting on the above passage recall personal reminiscences of remarkable incidents, witnessed by themselves, of mothers thus rescuing their children. They both enlarge upon the affection of mothers for their children being greater than that of fathers, on account of the pain they have suffered in bearing them, but principally, Gelli maintains, from their having nursed them. And he goes on to deplore the custom, prevalent in his time, of mothers putting their children out to nurse, and especially of having different brothers and sisters nursed by different wet nurses, the effect of which is to render their temperaments dissimilar and to indispose them to live together. He remembers that the naturalist Matteo Palmieri once made the experiment of having a lamb suckled by a goat, and in course of time its wool became coarse and rough.'

Then follows half a page of description by Gelli of the sight witnessed by him of a mother rushing into a burning bakery to save her little boy, who was there asleep, with the result that just as she had reached his room the roof fell in, and mother and child perished together. Such discursive talk as this is surely out of place in a work which should aim as far as possible at the conciseness of the text upon which it is a comment, and in which illustrations should not be found which, if not wholly irrelevant, are redundant or self-obvious.

To pursue the simile of Ossa upon Pelion, we may say that Mr. Vernon completes the pile by heaping on it the 'frondosus Olympus' of Doctors Scartazzini and Moore's criticisms. These, and those of the early editors, not to mention those of our own day, as, e.g., Di Siena, contribute largely to swell the bulk of Mr. Vernon's volumes. To our mind all these were far more deserving of the place of honour than the lucubrations of Gelli and Benvenuto. But we doubt whether Mr. Vernon has not transgressed, in both directions, the wholesome rule of 'ne quid nimis.' He is like the Sun, who, as Dante says, 'per superchio sua figura vela;' but unlike him in this respect, that most

of his 'soperchio' is composed, not of his own radiance, but of light borrowed from other luminaries, which too often occults his own. We must add, however, that in our opinion a very appreciable proportion of the 'soperchio'—or 'excess'—is to be found in the superabundant explanation of Dante's text, which is the result of Mr. Vernon's method of first giving at some length, in his own words, the substance of the meaning of the passage he is about to translate; then the Italian text; and lastly its literal translation. It strikes us that the total omission or material curtailment of the first step in this threefold process would have saved much space without any detriment to the reader's easy comprehension of the very lucid English version.

Having said thus much we now gladly turn to the consideration of Mr. Vernon's own conscientious and original labours in the preparation of these Readings; and we think that too much praise cannot be given to the way in which he has performed his task. At almost every page we are called upon to admire the wide range of his learning and the judiciousness of its application. He is equally familiar with the ancient classics and with modern poetry, English and foreign. In the felicity and copiousness of his quotations of parallel passages, both from Dante himself and from other authors, he rivals and not seldom surpasses even Scartazzini, after all allowance made for matter borrowed from him. The scholarly tone of his philological and etymological notes marks him out as the Nannucci of English Dantists, while his long residence in Florence has made him 'un che intese la parola Tosca'—a past master, in fact, of the words and idioms, sayings and habits of the Tuscans of all classes.<sup>1</sup> Moreover he is an admirable guide to the reader in the descent through the *Inferno* 'giù di balzo in balzo.' He shows him which way to turn from time to time, when and how far to diverge from, and how to return to, the normal track. As we proceed he points out the vast dimensions of the abyss, and the graduated symmetry with which these dimensions contract as the lower depths are reached.<sup>2</sup> He has, too, the power of vividly portraying the scenes and the persons coming before us, and of concentrating our attention upon them until fresh objects present themselves; so that we realize it all, no less than one 'chi vide il vero.' He modestly describes his work as practically lectures to students. No doubt it contains, of necessity, much that is already most familiar to those whose devotion to the study of Dante dates from long years ago; but not the less true is Dr. Moore's observation in his Introduction, that 'the copious extracts which he has given from a variety of authors are full of interest and instruction for every class and degree of students of the Divine Poem.' The Prolegomena, the

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, the notes to *Inf.* vi. 78 (vol. i. p. 196); *ibid.* x. 55 (vol. i. p. 319, on 'talento'); *ibid.* xxii. 50 (vol. ii. p. 109, on 'ribaldo'); *ibid.* xxix. 74 (vol. ii. p. 499, on 'teggia').

<sup>2</sup> The excellent coloured plan of the *Inferno* and Itinerary of Dante, at p. 1 of vol. i., will be of the greatest possible use to a beginner puzzled by the seemingly erratic course of the poet.

Chronological Tables of the Age of Dante, and the compendious Bibliographia of Authors and Editions quoted are also all of them most material aids to the student. In short, we know of no other work in the same field that can be more confidently recommended to him.

Those who know from experience how all but impossible it is not to overlook some inaccuracies even in finally revising sheets for the press will not be surprised at discovering here and there some omission or erratum over and above those pointed out at the beginning of each volume. We may, in conclusion, mention a few that we ourselves have noticed, with a view to their correction in the second edition, which we confidently predict for this work. At vol. ii. p. 441 'vinse' is omitted in the Italian text of *Inf.* xxviii. 18, which should run thus: 'Ove senz' arme *vinse* il vecchio Alardo'; at p. 455 of the same volume 'quì' is omitted in line 57 of the same canto ('s'egli non vuol *quì* tosto seguitarmi'), and the whole line is left untranslated; and in the quotation from Virg. *Georg.* i. 281-283, in the note at p. 577 of the same volume, in line 282, 'Ossam' is misprinted for 'Ossæ.'

It is rare, indeed, for Mr. Vernon to leave unnoticed any point calling for special attention; but we observe that he has omitted to point out the pathos lying hid in *Inf.* x. 110, 111, where Dante requests Farinata to tell his fellow-sufferer, Cavalcante dei Cavalcanti, that his son Guido, Dante's best-loved friend, was 'still joined to the living.' This was true at the supposed date of the action of the *Divina Commedia*, viz. the spring of A.D. 1300; but it ceased to be true before the close of that same year, as Dante must have sadly remembered when, years afterwards, he penned these lines.

*The Celtic Church in Scotland: being an Introduction to the History of the Christian Church in Scotland down to the Death of Saint Margaret.* By JOHN DOWDEN, D.D., Bishop of Edinburgh. Published under the direction of the Tract Committee. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1894.)

THE Bishop of Edinburgh has, we believe, among those who are personally acquainted with him, the reputation of being a keen critic. Slips in chronology, in scholarship, in statement of facts or consecutiveness of reasoning, find in him a most prompt detective. It is fair to add that any attempt at reprisals will prove a very difficult undertaking. In all the above-named points he displays great exactness, and the book now before us, small as it is, may be cited as an illustration of his correctness. It reminds us of the declaration of Niebuhr, in the middle of his first volume on the history of Rome, that he is trying to write 'on the principle of asserting nothing, however slight, with any other than the precise shade of conviction which it has in his own mind.'

We have not room for an account, much less for an examination, of the many interesting topics discussed by Bishop Dowden. It must suffice to name such important subjects as the Culdees, the Episcopate in the Celtic Church, St. Cuthbert, St. Margaret of

Scotland, the archæology of the Celtic Church in that land. These, with other features of the work, must be left to the reader. For the present we must content ourselves with saying that, according to our present lights, the author carries us thoroughly with him on almost every point.

But on one matter discussed in the earlier chapters of the volume we go a long way with the Bishop, but perhaps not quite the whole way. At least we should suppose it to be, for members of the great Anglican communion, a thoroughly open question. Possibly, indeed, the author of this volume would be ready to admit this much. Still he throws the weight of his judgment into one scale, and it must be granted that his personal acquaintance with the tone of the Celtic mind both in Scotland and in his native Ireland gives him especial right to speak.

The subject at issue is, whether the marvels related concerning holy men in the earlier middle ages can be wholly accounted for by subjective considerations, or whether there may not have been some instances, though rare and exceptional, of actual miracles being permitted.

Let us, first, in fairness, make our own admissions. We grant, then, that credulity is not faith, and that it may at times even prove the enemy of faith. Henry Martyn, if we recollect aright, discovered this in Persia. When he spoke of the great Teacher of whom he came to bear witness, he mentioned how among other evidences of His power he had recalled three persons to life. Some of his hearers immediately informed him that this was a small affair, that a native prophet who had lived some centuries ago had summoned back from the grave between sixty and seventy of the deceased. And one of the ablest French apologists of our day, a Roman Catholic, M. Nicolas, feels compelled to commence his chapter on Miracles by discussing how far the easy and uncritical temper of the Middle Ages has weakened the strength of the argument on behalf of the miracles recorded in the Holy Gospels. The state of mind of St. Columba's biographer, Adamnan, may be judged of by a single example. Among the prophecies uttered by Columba he includes that of his warning to one of the brethren, who was imprudently standing near a vessel full of water, though he had a book or roll of papers under his arms. Columba bade him take care lest he dropped it. 'And as the holy man prophesied, so it came to pass. For this brother turning round hastily did let the roll fall into the water.'

But would not the credulity be intensified if there were some undeniable examples of the miraculous? Those who are inclined to suppose this possible have with them the statesman Edmund Burke and Dr. Arnold of Rugby. Mr. Stephen of Dumbarton, if we understand him aright, follows in their wake. We have no wish to dogmatize, but we think that Anglicans may fairly claim the right to suppose such a view to be lawful and possible. The venerable society which has wisely, we think, given its *imprimatur* to the volume before us has, at least, allowed the Arnoldian view to be adopted in one of its series of *The Lives of the Fathers*.



The Bishop seems inclined to attribute the change of sentiment that has occurred in these matters to the well-known Essay of John Henry Newman on Miracles. But may it not have arisen from a concurrence of tendencies of which that Essay was only a single symptom? For example, there is M. Guizot's *Civilisation en France*, published some years before that Essay. Therein, in the '17ième Leçon,' we find M. Guizot defending a narration of certain marvels on the ground that as they formed 'un véritable soulagement moral . . . peu importerait la vérité matérielle de l'histoire.' This seems to us to go beyond Newman; and we agree with Dr. Dowden and Canon Liddon in thinking that such theorizing has, to say the least, a dangerous side. But Newman has, no doubt, affected the minds of many who used to adopt that extreme view which we have seen written down by the pen of an intelligent and religious layman: 'I believe all miracles recorded in the Bible: I disbelieve all which are not recorded there.'

It would be interesting in connexion with this volume to inquire into the place occupied in the religious mind by the thought of the holy angels and the fallen angels. Some singular contrasts would emerge even in our own day. We observe in a rationalistic work, which refuses to accept the miraculous conception of our Lord by the Blessed Virgin, a keen sense of the reality of Satan and his influence; while Principal Tulloch (who was, we suppose, considered orthodox by Scottish Presbyterians) appears to wish to explain away the existence of Satan in the latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

The Bishop of Edinburgh apologizes in his preface for the somewhat colloquial style in which his book is cast. His style appears to us to be almost uniformly scholarly and excellent; but it may be that the fact of his having delivered a considerable part in the form of Lectures has betrayed him at pages 111 and 188 into two expressions which are possibly tolerated in Scotland, but which we are unable to reconcile with his generally 'imperial English.'

There must be few who can study this volume without finding in it much information and much solid and suggestive thought. Even we, who hesitate at accepting all its conclusions, feel compelled to admit a large measure of truth in the following remarks, with which we must now conclude. [He is speaking of Columba's emissaries.]

'The missionaries admitted the reality of the heathen miracles, but declared that He whom they served could do yet greater things, and manifest His superior power. There is no escaping the conclusion that the Celtic missionaries and the Fathers of the Celtic Church were themselves unhesitating believers in what would in our time be regarded as puerile superstitions. But we may well believe that in the providence of God such a nearness of intellectual level between teachers and taught materially assisted their evangelistic labours. And we are instructed in the lesson, which we shall have again and again to bear in mind, that a great body of baseless superstitions may be held compatibly with large measures of Divine truth, with the most sincere piety, and with high intellectual ability and acumen' (p. 101).

*History of the Scottish Church.* By W. STEPHEN, Rector of St. Augustine's, Dumbarton. Vol. I. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1894.)

WE have not had time to examine this volume with the attention which it evidently deserves. A northern critic in the *Scottish Guardian*, while admitting its meritorious character, challenges a few of its author's positions; and another friendly judge maintains that some of the extracts from Theiner's *Vetera Monumenta* seem to have been copied out with less care than is desirable, and to have involved some inaccuracy in the matter of translation.

But even if these charges can be sustained—which is not very wonderful in a volume of nearly 600 pages—they involve, we believe, errors of a nature which could easily be corrected in a second edition; and they do not seriously invalidate the many excellences of Mr. Stephen's work. To us it seems fair, candid, well arranged; and, in homely phrase, very readable. The author's debts to previous investigators are, no doubt, large and numerous; but they are fully and frankly acknowledged. The names of Skene, Reeves, Bishop Forbes, Cosmo Innes, Robertson, Tytler, Theiner and others, as well as the original sources, are of constant occurrence in the notes; and if Mr. Stephen has not attained to a place among these investigators, he may at least claim to rank among those who have taken full advantage of the achievements of such labourers. Occasionally he breaks a lance—and to our thinking successfully—with the Roman Catholic compiler, Bellesheim. This last-named writer frequently describes evils of mediæval society as rampant, despite the efforts of Popes. Mr. Stephen, without passion, but very seriously, inquires whether many of the weak and injurious elements of the Christianity of the Middle Ages in Scotland may not, in great measure, be traced to the exorbitant claims of the Roman Pontiffs, and to their laxity towards abuses.

Another feature deserves special notice. On more than one occasion our author is able to quote large admissions from recent Presbyterian writers. It is thus with regard to the Culdees; with reference to the question whether Wishart was or was not probably mixed up with an attempt upon the life of Cardinal Beaton; and with the sentiments expressed by John Knox when that dignitary's assassination was accomplished.

We trust that Mr. Stephen will meet with sufficient encouragement to persevere in his task; and that at the conclusion of his work he will give us the benefit of a good index. Meanwhile, we thank him heartily for what he has already accomplished.

*The Office and Work of a Priest.* By CECIL J. LITTLETON, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary and All Saints, Chesterfield. (London: Skeffington and Son, 1894.)

THIS is a very useful book on the different parts of a priest's life and work. It consists, with the exception of the last chapter, of a series of papers which were written for clerical meetings held in the country,

and which were not at first intended for publication (Preface). We are glad that Mr. Littleton yielded to the wishes of those who asked him to publish them. One of the encouraging signs of the present day is to be found in the many attempts which are made to help the clergy to realize the solemnity of their office and to perform its duties better. It speaks well for the purpose of those who attended the clerical meetings at which these papers were read that they should have appreciated them; for the tone is everywhere high, the language outspoken, the standard of prayer and study and work which is insisted on one by no means easy to maintain in the activity of parochial life. Mr. Littleton refers much to previous writers; he is evidently greatly indebted to, among others, Bishop Dupanloup and Dr. Liddon; but he has also thought for himself, and has learned how to apply and use in practice what he has read in books. The reading of his papers might well supply a stimulus or useful advice to those who need to be stirred or guided.

We hope this book may reach a second edition, and we would plead with the author for a careful revision of small details when he is preparing it. In the numerous Greek and Latin quotations there is a very large number of printer's errors, which require correction. The sentence referred to Dr. Pusey on p. 85 must, we think, be so ascribed in forgetfulness that it occurs in Dr. Liddon's description of the opinions of Mr. Alexander Knox; <sup>1</sup> words assigned to St. Bernard (p. 126) are used as a quotation in the *De Imitatione Christi*,<sup>2</sup> and are generally thought to be, in the first instance, from Seneca;<sup>3</sup> and the description of the author of the *Religio Medici* as 'S. Thomas Brown' (p. 112) needs alteration. Care about small matters of this kind would make the reading of the book much more pleasant, and accuracy in such respects is of special importance in a work which is likely to be of value to young clergy and to candidates for ordination. There is a passage, too, on pp. 11-12 the wording of which we think Mr. Littleton would do well to reconsider. As it stands it appears to mean that the knowledge 'of human nature and human needs' which a priest acquires in the hearing of confessions is a reason why he should be wishful that his people should seek sacramental absolution. The value of such knowledge is, of course, very great, but we think it dangerous to suggest that a priest should lead his parishioners to confession from any other motive than that their own souls may by that means be cleansed and helped, and we can hardly doubt Mr. Littleton would say the same.

*Church and Dissent.* Sunday Evening Lectures at St. Michael's Mission Church, North Kensington. By RICHARD W. FREE, M.A., B.D. (London: Elliot Stock, 1893.)

THESE lectures contain matter which may be useful in removing prejudices against the Church, or in showing the false position which many Dissenters now hold. They derive a special interest from the fact that the writer was formerly a minister of a Dissenting

<sup>1</sup> Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, i. 260.

<sup>2</sup> *De Imitatione Christi*, i. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Seneca, *Ep.* vii.

body; and this fact adds significance to his assertions of the great carelessness common among Dissenters with regard to baptism and the service they look upon as the Holy Communion, and of the slender hold which 'the popular Dissenting theology of the present day' has upon the Deity of our Lord (pp. 8, 136-7).

There is a good deal which strikes us as open to criticism. The estimate of the relation of the Church in England to the mission of St. Augustine we think an altogether mistaken one; and even supposing the debt which we owe to that mission is very much less than we believe it to be, the statement that we 'have been since the time of Augustine a Protestant Church' (p. 29) is hardly capable of serious defence. The passage on the anticipations of modern Dissenting theories in the history of the early Church makes too much of the identity throughout, and especially in the case of Tertullian does not recognize the fact that the reasons because of which he thought it better not to baptize infants were of an altogether different character than those now given by Baptists.<sup>1</sup> The lecture on Ritual contains much that is sensible, but does not show signs of adequate knowledge of the history and principles of Catholic ceremonial. The evident hurry with which the proofs have been revised is not the only mark of haste.

Passing by some other matters, we may notice Mr. Free's complaint with reference to the coldness with which the English bishops receive candidates for ordination from the ranks of Dissenting ministers and the formalities with which they are required to comply. It is, of course, true that no unnecessary obstacle ought to be placed in the way of those who, under such circumstances, are seeking ordination, and a cold 'officialism' may do great harm; but we cannot think the bishops are wrong in exercising caution and in taking steps to secure that candidates who have been Dissenters have fully weighed the course they are taking and are adequately instructed in dogmatic theology. It is of the highest importance to maintain that it requires a clear belief in the reality of the specific grace of episcopal ordination to justify a Dissenting minister in applying to receive it.

*Glimpses of the Far-off Land.* Selected by A. J. SEYMOUR; arranged by A. E. M. ANDERSON-MORSHEAD, compilers of *Ores from Many Mines*. With an Introduction by the Rev. W. H. HUTCHINGS, M.A., Rector of Kirby Misperton, and Rural Dean of Malton, Yorkshire. (London: Skeffington and Son, 1893.)

THIS is a volume of selected passages from many writers on Death, the Intermediate State, and the Future Life. The compilers have done their work well. The extracts are of such a kind as to be helpful to mourners and to suggest thought, while they are free both from the very undesirable speculations and from the false teaching

<sup>1</sup> This is sufficiently shown by his adding that the baptism of virgins and widows also should be delayed 'donec aut nubant aut continentiae corroborantur' (*De Bapt.* xviii.).

which are only too common with reference to eschatological subjects. We notice many familiar passages from Dr. Liddon, Mr. Davidson, and other writers, and have been much interested in reading the notes on the marks of the Resurrection body from some unpublished sermons by Mr. Hutchings (pp. 143-58). There is a short, but thoughtful, introduction on the reasons for believing in the future life, and on the value for such a belief, which is also Mr. Hutchings's work, which ends with a commendation of the book itself.

'It is not intended to endorse every statement which is made by the different authors whose works have been laid under contribution in the formation of this work, especially as the subject is one in which doctrine is soon apt to shade off into opinion; but it will be evident to all that *Glimpses of the Far-off Land* is a volume which has been compiled with much care and painstaking discrimination, and I trust it may be of service especially to the afflicted and sorrowful, and to all who "labour and are heavy-laden" in life's journey, and may command a wide circulation' (Introduction, p. xii).

*Meditations on the Hundred and Nineteenth Psalm.* By WILLIAM JOHN BUTLER, D.D., late Dean of Lincoln, sometime Canon of Worcester, and formerly Vicar of Wantage. (London: Skeffington and Son, 1894.)

THESE Meditations, delivered in Lincoln Cathedral by Dean Butler, are a very valuable and welcome legacy. The subject is a noble one, and he grasps its spirit in his characteristic and earnest way. Strange as it may seem, the Psalms are less really studied, understood, and utilized in the Christian life even by Churchmen, to whom they are so well known as a leading feature in the daily service, than are many other parts of Scripture. Though constantly repeated, we fear the act is not many degrees above mechanism, their true spiritual meaning and force being overlooked. They are full of teaching as to Christ, are rich in spiritual experience, a record of the dispensations of God's providence to His Church; they tell of her deepest calamities and mighty deliverances, with prophetic announcements of her increase and anticipations of her glory. The various states of mind through which the Christian passes from his first entrance upon the life of faith are all exemplified in them; they form a spiritual world, a sort of epitome of the Bible.

'What is there necessary for men to know,' says Hooker, 'which the Psalms are not able to teach? They are to beginners an easy and familiar introduction, a mighty augmentation of all virtue and knowledge in such as are entered before, a strong confirmation to the most perfect. The mysteries of God, the sufferings of Christ, the terrors of wrath, the comforts of grace, the works of Providence over this world, and the promised joys of that world which is to come, this one celestial fountain yieldeth.'

Of them as a whole Bishop Horne writes in his *Commentary on the Book of Psalms* (preface, vol. i. p. 13)—

'The Psalms are written upon a divine, preconcerted, prophetic plan,

<sup>1</sup> Hooker, as quoted by Bishop Horne, vol. i. preface, p. 2.

and contain much more than at first sight they appear to do. They are beautiful without, but all glorious within. The brightness of the casket attracts our attention, till through it, upon a nearer approach, we discover its contents. And then, indeed, it may be said to have "no glory, by reason of the glory that so far excelleth." Very delightful and profitable they are in their literal and historical sense, which well repayeth all the pains taken to come at it. But that once obtained, a further scene begins to open upon us, and all the blessings of the Gospel present themselves to the eye of faith; so that the expositor is as a traveller ascending an eminence, at the top of which he beholds, like Moses from the summit of Mount Nebo, a lovely and extensive prospect lying beyond it and stretching away to the utmost bounds of the everlasting hills.<sup>1</sup>

And he adds, when he comes to speak in its order of the 119th Psalm, of which alone Dean Butler treats—

'The chief design through the whole of it hath been to draw forth the lessons of heavenly wisdom and comfort contained in this composition for the service of believers, who, while they are accomplishing their pilgrimage and warfare upon earth, should continually solace themselves with the 119th Psalm, and repair to it as a fountain which can never be exhausted.'<sup>1</sup>

Of this Psalm he says, 'David must undoubtedly have been its author.' We rather prefer Dean Butler's hesitation on this point. At p. 163, speaking of it as 'the setting forth in singularly sweet and affecting language of the experience of a true child of God,' he adds, 'Whether, as some have supposed, it be the work of Ezra the scribe, or, as others, of Daniel, or, less probably, of David himself, the sweet psalmist of Israel,' &c. &c.

Many have allowed themselves to think of this psalm as dull and monotonous, deficient in special force and vigour. It lacks, no doubt, the excitement of tone which is nowadays so much valued. It cannot be otherwise. It speaks a specially deep and spiritual language. It needs to be meditated with care and effort as well as heart. Its tone must chiefly affect the few whose desire is to attain a closer communion with God, to make a perfect submission to His law, and to understand the way of His commandments. Without such a hearty desire its true meaning and force must be lost. The whole object of the psalm is missed.

Dean Butler's *Meditations* have thrown a life into this psalm which we believe will be helpful to many. He has illustrated it richly by use of the Christian Scriptures. To those who need a guide with heart and knowledge (and who does not need one?) these sermons will be welcome reading. There is a masculine tone about them which in modern theology is often wanting. It would be unjust and difficult to quote from such a volume in anything like moderation. The first, second, and last of the *Meditations* had better be read together. The first, with some alterations, occurs a second time in the appendix. The titles of the three are (1) 'The Undeified in the Way,' (2) 'Principles of True Conversion,' (3) 'The Utterance of Humble Hope.' They give an instructive picture of three specimens

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Horne, vol. ii. p. 292.



of Christian character. The second and the last, though their texts are separated by nearly the whole length of the psalm, have a close relationship.

Those who read these Meditations must re-read them, as used to be the practice when books were fewer. The title *Meditations* is well chosen. To put the volume away when read as if it were done with will not meet the case. Its words speak distinctly to the point, and they do not deal with a superficial subject. Preaching of this character is not the gift of our day. 'The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few.' Many schemes and many gospels are abroad, as is natural in a day so deficient in faith, so lawless and undisciplined. We have largely become experimentalists in religious work.

*Church Folk Lore. A Record of some Post-Reformation Usages in the English Church, now mostly Obsolete.* By the Rev. J. EDWARD VAUX, M.A. (London: Griffith, Farran, & Co., Newbery House, 39 Charing Cross Road, 1894.)

THIS is on the whole a disappointing book, although it contains a great deal of very curious information upon a variety of subjects. It is not well put together, for it is neither satisfactory to read straight through, nor convenient to use as a book of reference. There is also a good deal of unnecessary repetition, and some of the information is certainly not first-hand, and would be far more interesting if properly dated and authenticated. Mr. Vaux, however, in his Preface claims rather to amuse than to instruct, and there can be no doubt that his book may very pleasantly while away an idle afternoon.

Among the many old customs he describes, he mentions one which is quite new to us, and which he learnt from the authoress of the *Heir of Redclyffe*:

'I have seen,' Miss Yonge says, 'a cottager's child christened with a sprig of myrtle in its cap to mark it as a tithe child; and I have heard of the Rector of Compton recognizing such a tithe child, and sending him to school' (p. 75).

Speaking of old-fashioned observances in honour of the Holy Eucharist, Mr. Vaux says:

'As a striking instance of the retention of an old principle long after the actual practice had died out, I may mention that the late Major Fortescue, of Alveston Manor, Stratford-on-Avon, told me that his grandfather, who was a clergyman, always wore full dress under his surplice whenever he celebrated the Holy Eucharist' (p. 57).

We may supplement this with the information that this was also the invariable practice of the late Dr. Mill, Canon of Ely and Regius Professor of Hebrew, who died in 1853.

Mr. Vaux (on p. 125) speaks of distinctive dresses worn by mourners at funerals in different places, but does not mention a custom which prevailed in North Staffordshire, certainly as late as the sixties, of female mourners wearing long white muslin veils over their

bonnets at the funeral of a child. While on the subject of funerals, Mr. Vaux draws attention to the curious fact that

'the Burial Service in the Book of Common Prayer is worded on the apparent supposition that no coffin is employed. The word "coffin" is not used; it is always "the corpse" or "the body." Thus: "When they come to the grave, while the corpse is made ready to be laid into the earth;" and again in a subsequent rubric it is enjoined that "earth shall be cast upon the *body*," not upon the coffin' (p. 148).

As a matter of fact, at the time when the Prayer Book was drawn up, the use of coffins was a privilege restricted almost entirely to the wealthy, and ordinary people were buried simply in a winding-sheet, a practice which has much to recommend it.

Mr. Vaux tells some amusing stories on the subject of public penance, e.g. the following, from the archives of Exeter Cathedral:

'John Taprill, clerk, asked forgiveness of Rd. Grills, carpenter, within the parish church of Southill upon a Sunday forenoon, after morning prayer, in the month of December last past, for reporting things not proven. Whereupon the said Taprill, longing to be revenged, did sing some Psalms as he thought fitting to lamentable tunes for sorrow of his disgrace' (p. 175).

Taprill certainly took an unfair advantage of his position in thus scourging himself upon the congregation; but it is perhaps safe to assume that most, if not all, of his hearers must have been conscious that at some time or other they also had been deserving of penance for 'reporting things not proven.'

In chapter xi., called 'Holy Days and Seasons, and their Customs,' Mr. Vaux gives a great many quaint rhymes and sayings, and describes many picturesque observances. He attempts a new explanation of the old and persistently obscure couplet

'Tid-mid, Misera,  
Carlings, Palms, Pace Egg Day.'

Mr. Vaux says, "'Tid-mid" means, I presume, mid-tide, or the middle of Lent.'

But in that case what does 'Misera' mean? for 'Carlings, Palms, and Pace Egg Day' are evidently the fifth and sixth Sundays in Lent and Easter Day—Passion Sunday or the fifth Sunday in Lent being known as 'Carling Sunday,' from the practice of eating a kind of pea or bean, called a 'carling nut,' on that day.

Dr. Neale, in an Essay on 'Church Festivals and Household Words' (one of a volume of *Essays on Liturgiology and Church History*, published in 1863), says of this so-called rhyme—

'Clearly there is some reference to the various names of the Sundays in Lent, but it is very difficult to fit in the order of the rhyme with that of the Sundays. "Misera" is no doubt a simple corruption of "Reminisce," the second Sunday in Lent: in which case "Mid" would be the first, and 'Tid,' Quinquagesima. But there is nothing either in the Introit, Collect, Epistle, or Gospel which by any possible chance could be corrupted into such an abbreviation.'

If 'Misera' is the second Sunday, 'Tid' and 'Mid' would stand

very well for the third and middle or fourth—and we should then have a name for all the Sundays except the first, which was usually classed with the preceding Sundays as Quadragesima. But of course the order of the first three would be hopelessly wrong, and we are afraid a thoroughly satisfactory explanation of the jingle is yet to be found. Among the quaint customs mentioned by Mr. Vaux, one which would be more honoured in the breach than in the observance is that of the congregation cracking nuts during service on the Sunday next before Michaelmas Day. The day was known as 'Crack-nut Sunday.'

We have said enough to show our readers that Mr. Vaux's book contains much to interest and amuse, and it may perhaps lead some to a further study of the old customs and local observances now fast disappearing from among us.

*The Official Report of the Missionary Conference of the Anglican Communion on May 28, 29, 30, 31, and June 1, 1894.* Edited by GEORGE A. SPOTTISWOODE. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1894.)

WHILE these pages are passing through the press we have received the above Report—a fat volume of 720 pages. That Mr. George Spottiswoode should have accomplished the task of editing in due sort such an enormous mass of material in a period so short as some three weeks would to us be a marvel if experience had not taught us what an amount of energy he can put forth in a good cause. And to what better cause could any man devote himself than the missionary work of the Church of England? In a heart-stirring preface the Editor calls attention to what constituted the unique character of this great conference. 'Missionary meetings have been held in abundance both at home and abroad: but never before has there been a general meeting of Anglican missionaries from all parts of the mission field to confer with one another as to their work.' In a few masterly sentences he contrasts the two types of missionary work embodied in the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and, casting a forward glance to what perhaps may not be a very distant future, he throws out the suggestion that 'these two will not be the only threads of the many-coloured vesture of the Bride of Christ in the days to come.' It requires no great effort of the imagination to foresee that, in the course of a few decades, native African, Indian, and Japanese Bishops may be taking their seats at a Lambeth Conference, and around them will grow up new problems, both new and pressing, which it will tax the wisdom of the assembled Fathers to solve.

Before we conclude, it may be convenient if we lay before our readers some of the principal headings of the subjects dealt with at the Conference. After a noble sermon by the Bishop of Durham and a characteristically powerful address from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the first subject brought forward for discussion by papers and speakers is 'The Missionary's Vocation and Training.' Then we have the 'Religions to be dealt with,' viz. I. Judaism. II. Moham-

medanism. III. Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism and various forms of Paganism. On this follows 'The Presentation of Christianity,' under two subdivisions. 'Problems to be Solved,' viz. I. Indian Problems. II. Chinese and Japanese Problems. III. African Problems. IV. Australasian and South Sea Problems. V. Polygamy. The section entitled 'Dangers to be avoided' divides itself into three parts, viz. I. Secular Influences and Extraneous Employment of Missionaries. II. Undue Introduction of Western Ways. III. Spiritual, Moral, and Social Danger to Missionaries. The 'Methods to be employed' comprises: I. Associate Missions and Family Life. II. Educational and Industrial Missions. III. Medical Missions. IV. Translation of Bible, Prayer Book, etc. This last part, we may remark in passing, contains an excellent and suggestive paper by the Rev. E. McClure. 'The Building up of the Church,' the 'Relations of Missions to the Church at Home,' and 'Home Interest in Mission Work,' are all full of most interesting matter. Then follows what is called 'The Women's Section,' which deals with 'The Vocation and Training of Women for Foreign Missions'; 'The Need and Scope of Women's Work'; 'The Dangers and Difficulties of Missionaries'; and 'Home Interest in Mission Work.' The speeches delivered at the Public Meeting complete the work.

We may recur to this volume on a future occasion. It is of course impossible to do more than we have done, at this late date. We hope our readers will procure a copy for themselves. No such repertory of valuable information as to the progress of the missionary work of the Church of England—its methods, its principles, and its results—has ever yet been issued. Open the book where you will, you are sure to alight on something which cannot fail to arrest your attention, and to make it difficult to lay it down.

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